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The Tragedy of Quebec

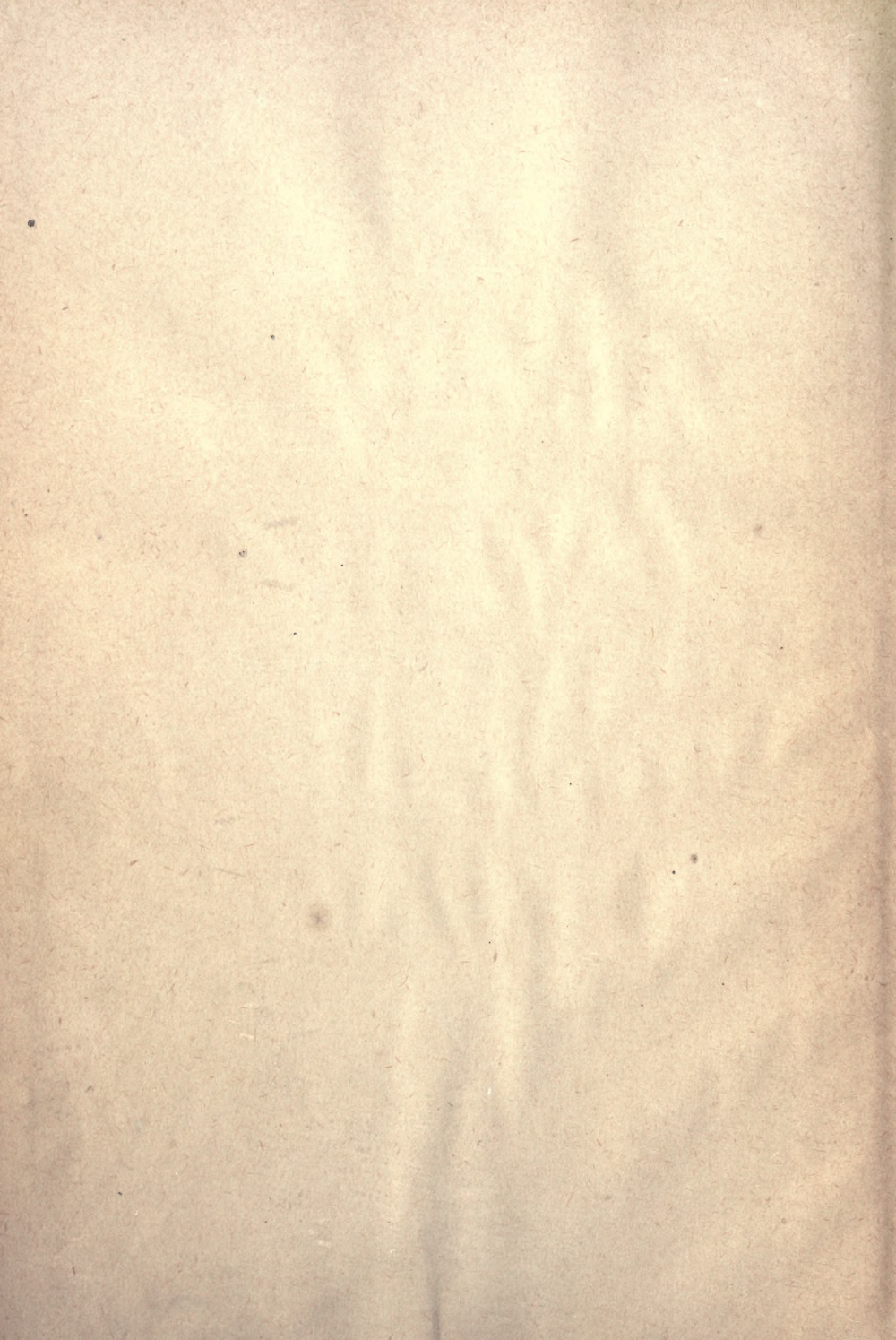
By Robert Sellar







The Tragedy of Quebec



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The Expulsion of its
Protestant Farmers

By Robert Sellar

THIRD EDITION

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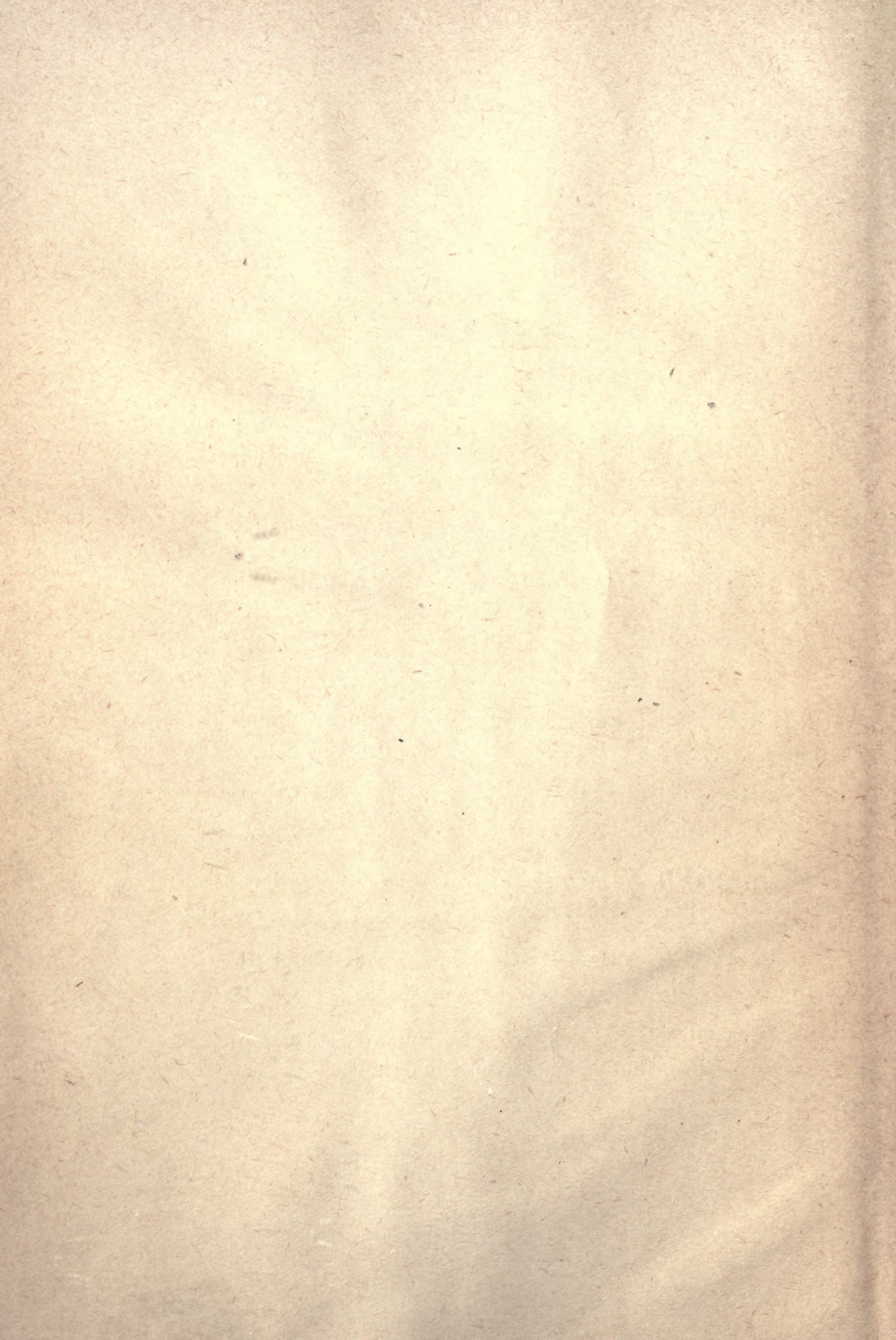
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"The conclusion is inevitable, from the nature of the means employed, that a deep-laid plan exists for the complete subjugation of Lower Canada to ecclesiastical rule, with the view of extending the same baneful influence hereafter to the whole Dominion. In this view the importance of early and stern opposition to the schemes now being gradually disclosed, becomes the duty of all good citizens, be they Catholic or Protestant."—SIR A. T. GALT in 1877.

"Are you unable to distinguish between Clericalism and Religion? I am not combating Roman Catholicism as a Christian creed; I am fighting that sinister conspiracy which uses the forms of religion to destroy human liberty and the prosperity of States."—GAMBETTA.

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PREFACE.

The first issue of this book dealt exclusively with the interests of the Protestant farmers of Quebec. In the second edition space was taken to point out that the same influence which had so disastrous an effect upon them, would, ere long, bring trouble to the Dominion at large. In this third edition, that contention has been dealt with more fully, so that the book now consists of two parts, that which concerns the Protestant farmers of Quebec and that which concerns the people of the other provinces.

Part of this edition the publisher is preparing as copies fit for the library. In these copies a voluminous appendix is included, giving quotations from the documents cited in the text, not only confirming its accuracy, but useful for reference to those who desire to make a study of the workings of the Papacy in Canada.

Huntingdon, Que., December, 1910.



CHAPTER I.

The Coming of the English-Speaking Farmers

The eighteenth century was nearing its end before the solitude of that vast region which lies south of the parishes that border the St. Lawrence, between the Chaudiere and the Richelieu, was disturbed by aught save the cry of the water-fowl as it winged its way over lake Memphremagog, or the howl of the wolf from its rocky den on the slope of Mount Tom. The old world had been rent by wars; dynasties had risen, flourished, and disappeared, and yet that bewitching expanse of forest, lake, and mountain, threaded by rivers beside which the Thames and Clyde are but streamlets, continued undisturbed, its beauty and possibilities of wealth alike unknown. From a sky as clear as that of Italy the sun bathed this region of romantic beauty summer after summer, autumn dyed its mantle of forest in hues of gold and scarlet, and winter mantled it in ice and snow, but all this loveliness for uncounted centuries was unseen by man, save when some lone Indian, in search of game, strayed from his fellows. It must be a baffling thought to the dwellers of the Old World, that a stretch of country larger and fairer than that for which kings fought and vast armies perished remained unowned and unoccupied in the Province of Quebec down to a period almost within the memory of a few yet living.

The day, however long delayed, came at last, when the white man, intent on making a home in this long

secluded land, crossed its charmed frontier. He was a scout from a host of people dissatisfied with the granite hills of New England. His rifle was his dependence for food: his axe his weapon for subduing this untamed wilderness. Selecting for his future home a spot on the bank of some glassy lake, where the growth of timber told his experienced eye the soil was rich, he woke the echoes which, for aught we know, had slumbered since the world was new, as he felled the first tree, and with it the virgin page of an untold past was soiled and the charm of this long-secreted solitude broken. The deer, startled as it grazed on the spring-buds by the unwonted sound, leapt into the darkest recesses of a forest whose hour had come. With the admirable skill of the American woodsman the newcomer hewed and shaped the fallen trees and rolled them together to form a rude shelter that would serve until a better house could be built. Then he left, blazing the trees as he retraced his steps, forming the first avenue of communication. Before a month has sped he returns, but not alone: his wife and children are with him. From dawn to dark the sound of the axe is heard, the felled trees are piled together, and one night the glare of their burning gilds lake and hill. The wife and mother aids the stalwart husband in rolling aside the trunks that defied the fire, and the first clearance is made. The seed, so painfully carried on the back from the far-south home in Massachusetts, is committed to the virgin soil, and in its rapid growth the eager couple see food for the coming winter. But there is no cessation to their toil. The war on the forest goes on and logs are shaped for a shanty that will defy the weather. When the corn begins to tassel visitors come, relatives and old neighbors, to see for themselves this new land and how their friends are faring in it. They help to rear the modest shanty, and having seen how much better the soil is than that where they dwell, resolve to make the change when they have gathered their harvest from their

stony fields. Before the first snowflakes fly, from not one, but half-a-dozen shanties, smoke rises above the treetops.

Once started, the growth of the settlements was rapid. Paths were blazed from what is now New Hampshire and Vermont, and over them streamed a hardy class into the recesses of the newly opened region. Those in the western section found convenient access to Montreal by way of the Richelieu, and by opening short lines of road northward, but those to the east were not so fortunate. They were much farther south of the St. Lawrence, and a broad belt of hilly country, covered with forest, bade defiance to their efforts to reach Quebec. The settlements had grown to some importance long before even a rumor reached the ears of the people of that city of what was going on to the south. Trappers first brought word of the incursion of New England squatters into Canada, and lumbermen gladly found in the new settlements an unexpected source of supplies. When the facts became known the elder Papineau and his coterie were annoyed, they desired no increase in the number of English-speaking people, and, had it been in their power, would have expelled the new-comers. The governor proposed a road be built from Quebec to give them access to the city. Papineau resented the proposal; the legislative assembly would not vote a sou for such a purpose. The proposed road hung fire until, in 1810, Governor Craig overrode the will of the legislature by employing squads from the garrison to make it. It was indispensable, he said, to show these strangers they have made themselves part of Canada and to cause them to take an interest in its government. A channel of communication between them and Quebec city, he went on to declare, must be opened at once. To secure the money needed to hew a path through the intervening forest he sold the land it crossed. The summer of 1810 was altogether unfavorable for road making; yet, despite rain and cold, the soldiers worked

vigorously. At no period had agriculture among the habitants been at lower ebb; from their wretchedly tilled fields they barely harvested enough to supply their own wants. High prices, paid cash down, failed to bring a sufficiency from the parishes surrounding Quebec to feed its garrison. Governor Craig saw in the new settlements a sure source of supplies, and he was not disappointed. No sooner did his road tap them than droves of cattle were driven over it. At the beginning of September the price of beef in Quebec market had fallen from 14 cents a pound to 8, and six weeks later it could be had for 6, and of better quality than the parishes supplied. It was a rough road, stretching from Quebec to Shipton, where it connected with a road the settlers had made, but it ensured the development of the new settlements by giving them a market. In summer over it went bellowing a succession of herds of beef cattle: in winter sleighs laden with grain and pork. Mr. Bouchette, the Surveyor-General, traversing the road on its opening, tells with astonishment the progress he found in the new settlements, the succession of tidily-kept homes, surrounded by gardens and freshly-planted orchards, primitive grist and saw-mills on the streams, incipient villages and workshops and asheries, churches and schools. The population he estimated at 20,000. The coming of war in 1812 increased rather than diminished the population. War against Britain was unpopular in New England, and the number who volunteered was insufficient to supply the quota of men required from each State. Conscription had to be resorted to, and to escape the draft hundreds, possibly thousands, fled across the line into the new settlements. Many in the townships to-day, who affect to be of U. E. stock, are descendants of these skedadlers. An untoward effect of the war was the closing of the Craig road. As a possible avenue for invasion, its bridges were destroyed and the highway blocked. Despite that, the settlements flourished. The British commissariat was offer-

ing unheard of prices for supplies, and cattle and grain by devious ways reached camp and garrison. With the passing of the war-cloud, which, to the new settlers had a silver lining, prosperity increased. Those stony slopes which strike the traveller to-day as barren, yielded then a lot of ready money by converting the trees that clad them into potash, and once cleared several crops of wheat. To be candid, all the settlers were not industrious. Fugitives from justice found in the new settlements safety from U. S. officers, for there was no extradition treaty. Bishop Stewart, in his experiences at Frelighsburg, has given a vivid insight into the character of this lawless portion of the population. Men who had fled to escape paying their debts, forgers, thieves, clustered along the frontier and avoided defining their crimes by using the convenient phrase that they were "line-bound."

The population was almost entirely of American origin, the scattered communities being as intensely New England in customs and opinions as those of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts which they had left, but the day came when it was to be leavened by an infusion from the British isles. The cessation of the Bonaparte wars was followed by a collapse alike in agriculture and commerce. Farmers were unable to pay their rents, manufacturers could find no customers for their goods, traders were ruined by bad debts. In the country farm laborers were starving: in the cities the streets were thronged by mechanics in search of work. Distress was as general as it was acute. Among the means of relief suggested was emigration. In those days the proposal was a novelty, and, at first, was repulsive to those to whom it was proposed. Passionate affection for the land of their birth, dread of a dangerous sea-voyage, and of the hardships to be met in an unknown land, had to be overcome. In 1818 a beginning was made, and the experiences of the venturesome spirits who led the way were eagerly read. Their letters were passed

from family to family in the parishes they had left. They told of a good land in the West, where every man could win a farm by hard work. Repugnance to emigration rapidly wore away, to give place to eagerness to begin life anew beyond the Atlantic. The Imperial Government assisted by setting aside warships that had lowered the flag of Napoleon to carry those disposed to leave, coupled with promises of free grants of land and some assistance in making a start in life in the bush. Each year saw the number of emigrants increase, and it was no wonder, for, save that love of native land which distinguishes the Anglo-Saxon, there was naught to keep back the working classes. The lot of the peasantry was peculiarly hard. The son of the cotter, even in those tender years when others more favored are at school, was set to work to increase the family earnings that procured only the coarsest food. His manhood was a period of hopeless toil, every penny earned needed to save those he loved from privation; cringing to the titled owner of the acres he labored, bullied by the great man's factor to supply more money for his extravagance, taxed on everything he bought to maintain a great military establishment, and to pay interest on the national debt. Ground down in body and spirit he saw no escape from the shadow of seeking poor-relief should sickness disable him or when old age overtook him, but by facing the horrors of the Atlantic passage in the hold of a small and ill-found ship and of braving the toils and privations of the backwoods. For over thirty-six summers there was a constant stream of sailing-ships, leaving the ports of England, Ireland, and Scotland, whose course is, to this day, marked in ocean depths by the bones of those who perished from disease or hunger while seeking refuge from the conditions they were fleeing from. Then was the opportunity of peopling the Eastern Townships with settlers who would have averted the fate that has overtaken them, but it was missed. A few runlets from the great tide of

immigration that was sweeping up the St. Lawrence were indeed turned into the townships, but they were trifling compared with what they might have been. The cause was the selfishness of individuals, the fatuity of the local government. Instead of holding the land to bestow on whoever undertook to clear it, the government presented it to favorites. When the poor immigrant, whose wealth lay in his sturdy limbs, sought land in the townships, he found it had been conceded by the government, and that the owner wanted a price he could not pay. Turned aside, he sought the free grants in Ontario. Great blocks of land were everywhere thus held, whose owners neither made roads nor paid taxes, yet whose property was growing in value from the improvements made by the settlers around them. Tens of thousands of immigrants, who would have gladly filled the vacant lands that lay between the parishes bordering on the St. Lawrence and the United States, were turned away, and the last opportunity of making Quebec essentially British was lost. Isolated parties of immigrants, however, did find a footing. Scattered over the wide territory that stretches between the head-waters of the Chaudiere and the majestic Richelieu settlements sprung up of Irish, both from the South and North, of Lowlanders and Highlanders, and of English, showing what might have been with a sane land policy. The influx from the United Kingdom, small as it was, modified the character of the American element. West of the Richelieu there was along the frontier an expanse of land still in a state of nature. Here immigrants were more successful in getting a foothold, and Lacolle, Napierville, Chateauguay and Huntingdon gave promise of becoming English-speaking counties.

These settlers from the Old Land started under different conditions from the Americans, who could regain their birthplace by a few days' journey along forest paths, who were in their native element in bush-life, and who knew how to meet the vicissitudes of the

climate. The Lowland Scot, with his family, rejoiced to be released from shipboard with its horrors of dirt, disease, and lack of food and water, eagerly sought the bush of which he had heard so much. When landed on the lot he had acquired, and the cadence of the paddles of the canoe that had conveyed the family was lost in the distance, he had time to survey his new estate. His wife, seated on the chest that represented their chief wealth, overcome by the sense of perfect isolation, realizing their separation from kindred and fearful of the future in this lonesome wilderness, unable to stifle her emotions, silently wept, while the younger children around her, unable to comprehend her regrets for the past or her fears for the future, were lost in wonder and admiration of the novel sights which surrounded them, and Colley, whom they could not bear to leave behind when they left their home amid Scotland's hills, barked in delight at the squirrels who, darting from tree to tree, eyed the new-comers with daring curiosity. The father, as he scanned the overshadowing trees, which opened in endless vistas wherever he turned his gaze, realized the gigantic task he had assumed in conquering these giants of the forest and wringing from the soil, cumbered with the litter of centuries, the food to feed his dear ones. The feeling of despair that hovered near was driven back by the proud thought that the land on which he stood was his own, and that, for the first time in his life, what he wrought for would be his. Grasping the axe he had bought at Quebec he, unused to handling it, awkwardly attacked the saplings around him to form a covering against the cold of the fast-coming night, while his wife, suppressing her emotions, set to work to light a fire and prepare their first meal. When the placid surface of the river was reflecting the glow of the evening sky, the father ceased his labors and all gathered to partake of it, with thankful hearts. And then, before retiring beneath the booth of poles and brush the father had managed to shape, with no sound

to disturb them save the chitter of some mother-bird as she gathered her nestlings under her wings, and the laving of the stream on whose bank they clustered, rose, for the first time since Creation's dawn, the sounds of praise and prayer. With full hearts that psalm in which the Scottish peasantry have for generations expressed alike their trust in and thankfulness to an ever-present God, the 23rd, was sung, then the father poured out his gratitude to Him who had preserved them amid the dangers of the deep, and whose kindness had followed them into the wilderness. At the petition for those they had left behind, the answering sob of wife and daughter spoke of the undying affection of the Scot for kith and kin, and for the dear old land. The help of distant neighbors having been sought, a day was fixed for a bee, when trees by the score were felled, and out of their trunks logs fashioned to build the walls of a shanty, and when the wife took possession she felt prouder of it than a duchess of her mansion. Their days were days of unceasing toil, of hardship and privation; when the nights grew long and the maples were reddening, the store of potatoes hoed in amid the tree roots was secured, and these were the chief winter's food. The patching and mending of clothes to resist the bitter cold of a Canadian winter, the unremitting warfare with the axe to enlarge the clearing, the joy in securing the first pig, the first cow, the first horse, the widening fields, the growing means, encouraged effort and deepened satisfaction, until the long-looked-for time came when the parents could rest in simple competency. All, however, in that severe ordeal were not successful. Many who tried to carve from the forest independent homes lost heart and abandoned what they had accomplished, but the majority persevered until success rewarded their efforts, and out of forbidding wildernesses of swamp and bush they created districts which have come to be ranked among the finest agricultural sections of the Dominion.

These settlers, whether American or British, dispossessed nobody. The country they occupied was in a state of nature when they went upon it, for it had never been ceded, the title being still held by the Crown. In the name of the King governors gave these settlers patents for their lots and promised them protection under the laws of England. The land, therefore, was theirs by authority of the King and by their labor in clearing and bringing it into cultivation. Yet they were treated by the representatives of the majority as intruders; as being where they had no right to be. The history of the Province of Quebec during the 19th century largely consists of attempts, under varied pretences, to drive them out; the beginning of the twentieth sees the fruition of these attempts. To trace to their source the causes of this antipathy to English-speaking occupants of the land in Quebec and follow its results to the other Provinces of the Dominion is the purpose of this book.

CHAPTER II.

Canada Under the Kings of France

When the feudal system was strong, when to be a soldier was considered the proper occupation of a gentleman, when war was chronic, and Europe a battlefield, there came the astounding announcement that a new world had been found beyond the Atlantic. The announcement was not welcomed as opening a way of relief for the suffering masses, for there was poverty and wretchedness among the peasantry to which there is no parallel in our day. Such an idea was not conceivable to the governing class, who regarded the common people as the Athenian looked upon his slaves, as beings different from himself. Their condition never gave a thought to those who could have helped them. Colonization is a modern conception: the transplanting of people in order to better themselves never dawned on the minds of kings and nobles of those days, nor for a century or two succeeding the discovery made by Columbus. All they thought of was enriching themselves, and they regarded the new world as the miner looks upon the glistening rock his pick has unexpectedly uncovered. Spain was first in the field, and jealously resented intrusion into those countries where the precious metals existed, so that the kings of other nations, whose cupidity was aroused by the stories of ship-loads of bullion poured into her lap, had to try the shores north of the Tropics, and successive explora-

tions proved that neither silver nor gold was to be found in them. Disappointed in this, they cherished the idea that a passage might be found leading to China and the Ind. In those days these countries were believed to be possessed of wealth that baffled imagination. The tales of the few Europeans who had survived the perils of the journey by land merely whetted the desires of those who heard them, and the belief was general that if a short cut could be found, he who reached the Orient would come back laden with pearls and diamonds and gold. One way by sea had been found, round the Cape of Good Hope, but that involved a voyage for which their ships were so unequal that the perils and sufferings of those who dared it appalled those who would have liked to follow. A short route westward was sought, and the motive that incited the King of Spain to help Columbus caused Henry of England to equip the expedition of Cabot, which resulted in the discovery of what we now call Canada. Disappointed in his not finding the passage sought, Henry did not follow up the discovery made, the knowledge of which, however, was given to the world together with a chart, showing the coast-line Cabot had traced. Thirty-seven years later, the King of France helped Jacques Cartier to equip an expedition to explore the land Cabot had discovered. That America was a great continent, vaster than Europe, was not conjectured by any explorer, and if one had hazarded such a surmise, it would have been treated with scorn. The land Columbus discovered, and whose coasts, north and south, were traced by his successors, they believed to be an island, a long one to be sure, but narrow, and there must be a channel across it. The spanning of the isthmus of Panama confirmed this misconception, and ship after ship was sent to find an opening in the long barrier of land through which they would sail to the Pacific and come back with their holds filled with the riches of the Ind. This was the cause of the assistance given by the

French King to Jacques Cartier on his three voyages. He did not sail, as is popularly supposed, to an unknown land, for the coast-line of what we now know as Massachusetts, Maine, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Labrador, had been defined and laid down in maps. More than that, fishermen had already discovered the inexhaustible wealth of the banks that lie off Newfoundland, and ships from as far south as Portugal and north as Iceland dropped their lines upon them each summer. It is probable Jacques Cartier was among those fishermen, and that it was while so engaged he heard from the Indians on the shores of Labrador, where the crews landed for wood and water, that the Straits of Belle Isle led to a great inland sea which ran westward. That this great sea was the long-sought break in the wall which led to the Pacific was his conclusion, and the records of his three voyages show how confident he was in his belief. Sailing through the Straits of Belle Isle he found his way into the gulf of the St. Lawrence, and, as day after day, he traced its shore-line trending southwest, he was convinced he had made the grand discovery. In this belief his second voyage confirmed him, when he penetrated still farther west, expecting each day the channel would expand into the broad Pacific, when he would shape his course for China and return to France in triumph. In this delusion he was only the first of a number of his countrymen, who, for the next hundred years, fruitlessly sought a passage to China by the St. Lawrence. While baffled in the object of his voyages, Cartier's visits to the St. Lawrence showed him a profitable trade could be developed with the Indians, for he was a trader from a trading-town and had an eye to the main chance. He began that barter with the Indians for furs which, long after his day, led to France renewing her connection with Canada. The popular belief, that Cartier's discovery of the St. Lawrence valley was followed by France taking possession and founding a settlement, has no foundation. When he

sailed out of the Gulf for the last time, his associate, Roberval, followed, and the rule of the Indian was undisturbed for nigh seventy years. During that long period Canada was a No-man's land, free to whoever chose to visit its great river. Hardy fishermen from England, France, Portugal, not only filled their holds with fish caught in the gulf and its bays, but added to their profits by dickering with the Indians for furs. For nigh a century Canada bore the same relation to Europe as Patagonia does to the civilized world of our own day—a place free to whoever wished to go and seek the riches to be found in its waters, to trade with its natives, and, if regard for their scalps permitted, to spy into its land. Of the boats that thus paid summer visits to the St. Lawrence most were manned and owned by French Protestants who were energetic and daring beyond their fellows. Tadousac harbor was their headquarters, followed in time by Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. This fact that it was French Protestants who developed the resources of Canada is constantly ignored. It was the work they did during those seventy years that prepared Canada for permanent occupancy. The rivers were the highway of the Indian, and at the mouths of the Saguenay, the Maurice and the Ottawa the daring Huguenot trader each summer awaited him. The trade was dangerous and fitful. Some seasons full cargoes were obtained; others not sufficient to pay expenses. This arose from the irregular habits of the Indian, whose main purpose in life was war, hunting for furs being a by-occupation. Often the trader waited at the mouth of the Maurice or Ottawa for the appearance of the string of birch-bark canoes, and waited in vain: the redmen were on the warpath. The long continuance of this irregular traffic kept the name of Canada before the commercial world, associating it with the supply of fish and furs. No government thought it worth while to take the trade under its care, and two generations of independent skippers had come and

gone before the rulers of France were attracted by its importance. The weak efforts they then put forth to re-occupy Canada, showed, however, their low estimate of its value. If any merchant or combination of merchants in St. Malo, Rochelle, or Harfleur would undertake the risk and expense of taking possession of Canada in the name of France, the government would give him or them a monopoly of its trade. The bait was poor enough, but towards the beginning of the seventeenth century a few snapped at it and lost money. None succeeded until Champlain appeared.

There are only two men whose names are associated with the settlement of Canada to whom the epithet distinguished can be joined. One was Champlain the other Frontenac, and both, while most dissimilar in character, were alike in this, the coming of each marked a new era in the destinies of the country. Champlain combined, like hundreds of others in the Atlantic seaports of those days, the callings of sailor and soldier, trader and explorer. With the financial aid of a Protestant, de Monts, he sailed for the St. Lawrence, intent on making money out of the concession of license to its trade which Henry of Navarre had bestowed upon his friend. The uselessness of the royal gift was shown by the disregard of the Huguenot skippers anchored at Tadousac, who flouted the King's letters-patent and pointed their cannon at the ship of its possessor. Champlain perceived that whoever wished to get ahead of the free-traders and make anything out of the country, need not rely on the King's authority, but outstrip them in their methods, and this he proceeded to do by building permanent trading-posts and, instead of summer visits, stay the year round among his customers. In this Champlain anticipated the policy of the Hudson Bay company, the most successful of fur corporations. He built huts at Quebec, and for the first time in seventy-three years Frenchmen stayed over the winter, and thus France resumed her occu-

pation of Canada, which really dates from 1608, and not from 1543, the year when Jacques Cartier and Roberval abandoned it as worthless territory. Having built a resting-place, Champlain next turned to the wandering bands of Indians, whose trade he sought. Among the means to secure their attachment he backed them in their disputes, went with the tribes he favored on the warpath, and won for them easy victories with his matchlocks. It was a disastrous move. He failed to make permanent friends of the savages he helped, while those whom he discomfited became the inveterate enemies of the Frenchmen. Thenceforth the history of the French in North America is largely a record of Indian wars. Marching with his new-found friends on the war-path, revealed to Champlain the interior of the country, giving him some idea of its vastness. He saw a lake that was given his name, he penetrated far towards the sources of the Maurice and Ottawa; he stood on the shores of the great inland seas—lakes Ontario and Huron. In regard to this matter of exploration of interior of the continent, parallels have been drawn between the settlers of New France and of New England, disparaging to the latter. Those who have done so overlook the fact that the St. Lawrence is the key of the interior of the continent, and possession of that key fell to the French. To explore the region west of Massachusetts settlements meant journeyings on foot that were practically impossible from the difficulty of carrying sufficient supplies through trackless forests, the encountering of expanses of swamp, the oft recurrence of fordless rivers. Daring and enduring of fatigue and privation as the backwoodsmen of New England were, it was a physical impossibility to penetrate any great distance westward. It was far different with Champlain and his fur-traders, who had settled on the banks of the great highway which Nature had provided into the interior of the continent, and on which the canoe could make as easy

a passage then as to-day. It was simply by paddling up the great river by which they dwelt that the head of Lake Superior was reached and the Mississippi tapped. It is more of a reflection on the want of energy and enterprise of the dwellers on the sites of Quebec and Montreal that, with such ready means at their disposal, twenty-six years elapsed from Champlain's settling at Quebec before they discovered Lake Michigan, forty-one before they saw the waters of Lake Superior, and sixty-five years before they ascertained a great river flowed southward from the watershed of Lake Erie into the Gulf of Mexico. Had New Englanders lived on the banks of the St. Lawrence, would they have rested content two score years before they found out whence the mighty river came, and to what regions its lakes and tributaries led?

Champlain's connection with Canada covered a period of twenty-seven years, nigh a generation, yet such trifling progress was made that at the end of these twenty-seven years his enumeration of its settlers gave Quebec a population of only 120, and his estimate of the total number of French in New France was only 200. Champlain's attempt to settle the country was a failure, and had it not been for one circumstance, the annals of his sojourn would have simply resembled those of any fur-trading company. That circumstance was the priesthood making Canada a mission field. Although not the first to come, the Jesuits professed to monopolize the undertaking of the task to bring the Indians within their Church. The Jesuits had learned the service that can be rendered to any cause by the printing-press, and each year the parent society in France prepared selections from the reports sent by those in charge of the stations and published them, thus anticipating the modern missionary tidings. These reports are tiresome and monotonous narratives, and abound with pious inventions. The object of publishing these reports, or

relations, was to induce those who read them to contribute towards carrying on the work, so a good story was always told of marvellous successes with exaggerations of sufferings and of need for assistance. The alleged conversions are not by ones or twos, but by thousands, sealed by stories of providential interventions and miracles that only a credulous and childish generation would credit. As these reports appeared regularly during forty years, they are exceedingly voluminous and would have gone on had they not become a butt for the wits of Paris, who dissected their pious inventions and held them up to the laughter of the nation. To stop the flow of falsifications that had come to injure the Church, they were interdicted. These journals show that what the Jesuit meant by converting the Indian was baptizing him. That the savage understood the rite or gave his consent made no difference as to its efficacy. If there was no water at hand, the Jesuit, by moistening his finger at his lips, dotting the outline of a cross on the forehead of the savage, with the muttering of the prescribed formula, held that the act changed the destiny of the Indian from perdition to salvation. The church was the ark, baptism meant admission into it, and the devotees in Old France were regularly regaled with reports of hundreds of conversions. The Indian might go on in his old courses, and they were abominable beyond those of any South Sea Islander, but they did not affect his new character. When he visited Quebec, if he appeared in a religious procession in the forenoon, he might engage in the torture of an Iroquois captive in the evening. The change was external: change of heart and disposition was not looked for. When the canopy over the host was borne by four painted savages, fresh from the warpath, with bloody scalps in their belts, the incident was related for the delectation of readers in France as proof of the victories of their Church. No white could know the Indian better than Frontenac, he made

companions of their chiefs, he lived in their wigwams, he wore their dress, he joined in their games, he followed them in their hunts and their wars. The Jesuits had carried on their missions for half a century when Frontenac visited their stations, one after another, and became fully acquainted with the Jesuit methods and their converts. What was his verdict? In a confidential despatch to the court of France he writes: "The Jesuits will not civilize the Indians because they wish to keep them in perpetual wardship. They think more of beaver skins than of souls, and their missions are pure mockeries."

The nuns had no better success with the Indians. Intendant de Meulles tells the minister in France they take the Indian girls into the Ursulines convent, "where they only learn how to pray and to speak French, all of which they soon forget, and when they have once been married to some Indian they hardly ever pray and never speak French."

That love of supremacy which caused the Jesuit to engage in the intrigues of the courts of Europe, led him to sit by the camp-fire in the councils of the savages, to raise his voice to recommend alliances, to engage in those negotiations with other tribes in which guile and deceit predominated, to declare war, to plan attacks. To profess zeal for souls while urging the redmen to boil the captive taken from a hostile tribe, in order to make reconciliation impossible, to baptize the victims to whose torture they had consented, to send an envoy to Boston to invite the Puritans to co-operate in exterminating the Iroquois, are specimens of the spirit and acts of men who took upon them the name of Jesus. Their missions were a travesty on Christianity, and it is no extenuation to urge their sufferings and death. There have been propagators of Mahomedanism as earnest, as full of fiery zeal, as self-denying, as exultant under torture, as ready to face death in awful form. The labors of the Jesuit ended in nothingness. The tribes who fell

under their influence and were guided by their advice were beaten in war and became extinct. The thousands of converts they professed to have made, left not a vestige behind, unless, indeed, the halfbreeds of Caughnawaga and Lorette be so considered. The fatuous nature of their labors was noted in Canada even when their missions were in their glory. Father Le Clercq drily remarks that once the letters of the Jesuit missionaries disappeared the host of converts which the letters had enumerated disappeared also.

The one result of the coming of the Jesuits was, that at a critical juncture, it determined the occupation of Canada by France. Its value as a region for the supply of furs had come to be recognized, but the trade was so precarious, so much of a gamble, large profits one year followed by as great losses, that France would never have decided to hold Canada on that score. The religious sentiment of France had been impressed by the narratives of the Jesuits until the transformation of the Indians into Catholics came to be looked on as a sort of crusade, and members of a corrupt court endeavored to compound for their sins by lending their influence to measures for the retention of Canada; enthusiasts of both sexes offered their services, donations and legacies flowed into the Jesuit treasury, and the King authorized them to collect, on market and exchange, a contribution named "God's penny." While the tide of sentiment was at its height an event happened that threatened to end it. An English privateer, Kirke, after sweeping every French sail from the St. Lawrence, made an easy capture of Quebec in 1629, and the red banner of St. George floated over St. Louis castle. The British held undisputed possession of the entire country during the ensuing three years. That possession would have become permanent, preventing the bloodshed, the burnings of heart, the difficulties felt to this hour, but for the interference of the Jesuits. Their missions in Canada gave them distinction and renown over all

rival orders, influence in the French court, and an everflowing source of income they no more liked to lose than the great grants of land they anticipated along the St. Lawrence, and so they besought Cardinal Richelieu to regain the country that had been lost. England was not disposed to give back the territory she had won by fair fighting, and rejected the overtures of France. The Jesuits were persistent in the pressure they brought to bear on Richelieu, and, finally, on his offering to pay the balance of his wife's dowry, King Charles First snapped at the money, for he was ever needy. The Jesuits triumphed; Britain ceded Canada back to France. The saying, that the Scots sold their King for a groat is proof of their shrewdness; a king who could sell an undeveloped empire for payment of an overdue debt was not worth a groat.

The records of Canada under the rule of France naturally fall into three periods:

1st. From the voyage up the St. Lawrence of Cartier, in 1534, to the coming of Champlain, 1608, a period of seventy-four years, during which time Canada was nobody's land, its waters frequented by fishing-boats of all nations, which added to their gains by buying furs.

2. From France taking possession by Champlain's forming a settlement at Quebec, 1608, to his death in 1635, a period of twenty-seven years, which witnessed his persistent but futile efforts to found a colony, and the appearance in Canada of the Jesuits under the guise of missionaries.

3rd. The resolve of Richelieu to make Canada a crown colony, the introduction of the seigniorial and parish systems and of forced emigration, ending in Wolfe's victory—embracing 120 years.

Cartier may be taken as representative of the first period, Champlain of the second, Frontenac of the third. The retrospect of the first period is that of an occasional sail stealing along the shores of the gulf, landing to salt the fish its crew had caught and to

barter with wandering tribes for beaver skins. Of the second, of a bold and resourceful man endeavoring to obtain a foothold in Canada for his nationality: of black-robed priests who called rites and observances Christianity. The third is the period whose shadow still projects over Canada, which began with the closing years of Champlain, the finest figure that flits across its record. It was not his fault that his life-work ended in failure. The conditions under which he labored, a policy of monopoly and exclusion on the part of the French Government and of interference with his plans by narrow-minded priests, would have defeated the wisest of leaders. No wonder he left Quebec a cluster of huts huddled beneath the rocky cliff, inhabited by some 120 whites, who depended for food on the arrival of the spring fleet from France, who had not cut a single road, their only avenues of communication forest trails, alone perceptible to the bush-ranger, without a plow and without a horse. One hundred years had elapsed since Cartier had wintered in the St. Charles River, and yet there were not over 200 French inhabitants, and these, the letters of visitors tell us, lived in privation, squalor, and ignorance.

Apparently it was Kirke's capture of the country that caused the French Government to bestir itself, for his deed showed if they did not take steps to occupy Canada in earnest they would lose it. Richelieu undertook the task in autocratic fashion. Ships were chartered and filled with emigrants levied as he would soldiers, and plans devised which a body of officials were appointed to carry out. Were men automatons and the wilds of Canada as easily controlled as the cantons of France, the cardinal's designs would have succeeded. The feudal system, which France was beginning to discard, he sought to graft on the free soil of the New World—the system of a nobility holding the land and renting to those who tilled it—a system that discouraged industry and independence alike, by making the toiler the slave of the aristocrat.

With the introduction of seigniories came the parish system—that is, as the seignior exacted from the habitant, who cleared the land of forest and brought it into cultivation, a fixed portion of his miserable earnings, the priest also was to have a share, and a larger share than the seignior of his scanty crops. That settlement should prosper under these twin-systems was impossible, and so, during the third period we find the people often starving, dependent for supplies on the Mother Country, and looking to it for aid to do what the New Englanders, with fewer natural advantages, but under a different system, were doing for themselves and prospering. This period is often written about as one of Arcadian joys—when the seignior united with the priest in ruling the habitants with paternal benevolence, when the notary was their only man of business, when the bishop was looked up to with a simple reverence that made him almost divine, and the governor was bowed before as the embodiment of the kingiy power and magnificence of Versailles. Those who speak thus conjure a picture that never existed: which a casual reading of the despatches and correspondence of these days dissolves. With a salary of \$1,800 a year it was difficult for the governors to live, much less to keep up the appearance of a court, and to make ends meet had to dabble in the fur and brandy trades. Their attempts to keep up vice-regal style on their petty resources, their squabbles with those around them as to the degree of attention that was their due, their fight over the spot where the governor's chair should be placed when he attended mass, whether he should be incensed by the deacon or an altar-boy, whether he should be the first to be presented with the brush at the blessing of holy water, have precedence in receiving blessed tapers, palms, and bread, who had the right to try cases of witchcraft, such incidents as these Cervantes would have chuckled over, and only his pen could have done justice to the seigniors strutting round their log-cabins with sword

and cocked hat, while wife and daughters were chopping wood to cook his lordship's dinner or delving their clearance that there might be a supply of garlic and cabbage against the coming winter; or, at other times, in faded finery, idling in the narrow lanes of Quebec or Montreal, affecting the airs and dissipations of the distant court and engaging in intrigues for petty offices. Scrupulous in maintaining their dignity by not putting their hand to honest work, they were not above living upon the sorely-won earnings of their censitaires, whom they looked down upon as of other blood, and, so far as the changed conditions allowed, exercised over them the feudal tyrannies that existed in France. The hated corvée compelled the tenant to leave his own clearing to cultivate the fields around the seigniorial log-hut, into his lean meal-bag his lordship was not ashamed to thrust his fist, and if resistance was made, tried him as a criminal and inflicted humiliating punishments.

New France had been a crown colony for thirty years without making much advance. In 1666 Quebec was a village of less than 700 inhabitants, Montreal numbered a hundred less, and the total population was set down at 3,418. The stagnation that had prevailed so long was now to end, and it was broken by the coming of Frontenac, a man of restless energy and indomitable perseverance, who had an assistant equally pushing in Talon, whose plain common-sense and practical methods entitle him to be ranked as a French Benjamin Franklin. He saw that the beaver had wrought only injury to the people. To make for the woods with gun and traps was an easier way of earning a living than hewing down trees and putting in crops. Talon perceived farming must replace the fur trade. He reported to Colbert that, during the four-score years the French had occupied the country from its settlement by Champlain, only eleven thousand acres had been brought under cultivation, and that nearly everything needed was brought from France, including flour

and pork. Talon encouraged the clearing of land and raising of cattle, the building of grist and saw-mills, of tanneries and shipyards, of foundries and asheries, and gave a new impetus to the fishing industry by securing for it the French market. The fur-trade had been a blight to the struggling population. It bred idleness, improvidence, and the gambling spirit, for it was either, with hunter or trader, a feast or a famine. Many of the young men, fascinated by the freedom of the forest, threw off the duties of civilization and joined the Indians. Against these *coureurs de bois*, these bush-rangers, who combined the habits of the white vagabond with the morals of the Indian, the King prescribed severe penalties and Laval the terrors of the Church. It is a modern discovery that these lazy vagabonds were "romantic." Regarding the attitude of these early settlers to the clergy, their rising in revolt on the imposition of tithes shows they were not to be compared in blind obedience to their descendants of our day.

While Talon was teaching the gospel of work to the sleepy, do-nothing colony, dependent on the hide of an animal whose industry reproached them, Frontenac was maturing his plans and laying down the lines of a policy which he meant should make France supreme on this continent. He marked the marvellous advances of the English colonies to the south, how New England ships traded afar, how the Albany merchants had established posts on Lake Ontario and were handling more furs than the dealers of Montreal. The English colonies had forged far ahead, but he would check them and give New France the pre-eminence. Her geographical position gave her the means, and he would use them. In those days, when the railway was undreamt of, the St. Lawrence was the sceptre of the continent; whoever held it and knew how to wield it, could sway its destiny. The first step was to prevent the English getting a foothold on the great lakes: that was essential to establishing the sovereignty

of France, and he set about driving them back, built a fort at Kingston, and established a series of posts that would prevent them moving westward. The discovery of the Mississippi in his day aided him, and along it and its tributaries he built a line of log forts, forming a frontier beyond which no English trader or settler dare venture. Frontenac thought imperially, many have done likewise; what distinguished him from the herd of political dreamers was that he had the vitality and executive ability to carry his designs into effect. He had the physical strength to personally direct and the administrative faculty that secures success. His journeyings on foot and by canoe were marvellous; he examined every situation before selecting a site for fort or post, and was never daunted by unexpected obstacles. He was woefully cramped in means, yet with the little he could command he worked wonders. Left alone, he would have obtained for France a grip on the continent that could not have been unclasped. He won control of the great lakes by establishing trading-posts on Ontario, Erie, and Michigan. Westward of Detroit he planned forts, and southward he designed French settlements should extend to the mouth of the Mississippi, hemming the English between the Ohio and the Atlantic. What prevented the realization of these magnificent plans? What was it, in this, her new birth of energy and enterprise, that suddenly brought New France to a halt in her onward sweep to sovereignty? There is only one answer. The cause is so apparent that even Garneau could not conceal it. The Jesuits had come to hate Frontenac, he had thwarted them, he had become master where they had ruled, the Indians took his word before theirs. His independent nature would not bend to their yoke, he sought to confine them to their religious duties, and resented their interference with the courses he shaped. Stung by his attitude towards them, by his deeds, his words, these men, to whom their Church was above everything, trampled on all

patriotic considerations and conspired to thwart whatever he attempted. They cast suspicion on his every act, turned his subordinates against him, misrepresented, by letters and delegates, his administration to the government of France, and prevented its giving him the aid he needed. Frontenac was for France and the colony he had come to love; the priests were for their Church, and, in their eyes, the supremacy of their order and of their Church was of more moment than the supremacy of France over a territory vaster than even La Salle conjectured. They exerted the potent influence they possessed at Versailles to have him deposed as governor. The King, worried by their entreaties, signed his recall to France, and appointed the nominee of the Jesuits his successor. His departure, says Garneau, was a triumph for the Laval party. The bishop and the Jesuits chuckled as the great man stepped on board ship; with his departure went forever the prospect of New France becoming supreme. To the patriotic Frenchman, there can be no sadder reading than the official records that show how Laval and the Jesuits galled the fiery spirit of Frontenac, irritated him with petty persecutions, and baffled his far-sighted designs. When, seven years later, he was besought to return to Canada to save her from the Indians who threatened the extinction of its people, he was verging on seventy, unable to resume the plans of his mature manhood, even had he found conditions as he left them. The opportunity to realize them had passed forever. He did what he could. He saved its inhabitants from the tomahawk of the Iroquois; it was no fault of his that the sovereignty of North America was not also saved to New France.

The attempt to make French power predominate roused the antagonism of the English. There was room and verge enough for both, yet forbearance and regard for each other's rights were unknown on either side. The Jesuits deliberately incited the Indians to raid the frontier settlements of New England and New

York, accompanying them and encouraging them with assurances their object was pious, that English and Dutch Protestants were human only in appearance. The thirst of the Indian for blood was stimulated by the governor promising ten crowns for every scalp of the Bostonians they fetched back, and twenty crowns for each prisoner. At the distance of two centuries, the horrors of these raids still make the flesh creep. The English, in self-defence, retaliated, and in their spirit and methods they were no better than their enemies. Both peoples professed, each in their own way, to be peculiarly religious, yet, in carrying into practice the essence of Christ's teaching, love to God and man, the Puritan was no better than the Jesuit. This third and last period of the early history of Canada is written in blood: men who knew better, instead of clearing the forest and cultivating the soil, living in brotherly love, devoted themselves to slaying their neighbors, bribing the savages to help them in their dreadful purpose. To talk of heroism in connection with the leaders in these contests is to pervert the meaning of the term. The red fiends who at midnight rushed the slumbering hamlet, butchering mother and babe, torturing the grey-haired sire and his stalwart sons before dealing the fatal blow; or who, stealing behind the settler, while ploughing his little clearing, buried a tomahawk in his brains; or, worse still, waiting in the bush, shot the Puritan maid while tripping her way to the church on the hill, are regarded with abhorrence. Does the blare of trumpet and roll of drum, the shimmer of gold and scarlet, the waving of plume and banner, the high-sounding names of nobility, the benison of priest or bishop, the panegyric of the orator or the eulogium of the historian, place all the French soldiers, from Iberville to Montcalm, or their opponents, from Schuyler to Wolfe, on a different plane? The savage took life in his ignorance, the white against his knowledge of what was right. Of the two, the Indian is the more excusable. Both

defiantly violated the eternal decree, Thou shalt not kill, and are under the same condemnation.

The kings of France looked on the ordinary settler in two lights, as a customer for the manufactures of France, and as a unit of the garrison that was to hold Canada for France. To ensure his being a customer for what France had to sell, governors were instructed to destroy looms, to limit tanneries, and the number of tradesmen, to see that nothing was made that France could supply. Hemp and flax might be grown, but were to be shipped to France to be converted into rope and linen. No tobacco was to be raised, no mills built, and the keeping of sheep prevented, so that no cloth be woven. Raw material was to go to France, nothing was to be manufactured. Colonies, said a royal memorial to Vaudreuil, "Are settled only for their usefulness to the country which founds them, and never with the idea of their doing without the Mother Country." These orders were impossible to enforce except in the neighborhood of towns, but their existence made clothing so dear that the laboring class were in rags. To keep the Canadian a soldier, no more horses were to be allowed to live than needed to work the land. "The great number of horses has the effect of making the people effeminate," writes the minister in 1710. Three years later he renews his injunction. "It is most important that the settlers should be made to return to the use of snow-shoes, and the horses and winter vehicles be destroyed, otherwise the settlers would become effeminate and lose their superiority." Hocquart, the last intendant except one before the conquest, and who therefore knew New France in its most developed stage, gives this sketch:

"All the inhabitants of the rural districts are skilled in the use of the axe. They make for themselves nearly all their farm implements, and build their own houses and barns. Many of them are weavers, and make coarse linen and cloth they call 'droguet,' with which they clothe themselves and

“their families. They love to be distinguished and
“caressed, and are extremely sensitive to contempt
“or the smallest punishment. They are reserved, vin-
“dictive, given to drunkenness, using largely of spirit-
“ous liquors, and have the reputation of not being
“truthful. This description is applicable to the
“greater number, and more especially to the country
“people. The townspeople are less vicious. They
“are all attached to their religion. There are but few
“criminals. They are flighty and self-conceited, and
“hence they do not succeed as they might in the arts,
“agriculture and trade. To this must be added idle-
“ness, which is induced by the long and rigorous
“winter. They are fond of hunting, sailing and travel-
“ing, and have not the coarse, rustic appearance of
“our French peasants. They are, generally speak-
“ing, docile enough when stimulated by a sense of
“honor and justly ruled; but they are naturally re-
“fractory.”

Every man was compelled to have a musket. If they had not money, the officials were to take produce in payment. All between 16 and 60 were required to turn out when ordered to do military duty, or to work on fortifications. The wall around Montreal, the batteries of Quebec, were built by enforced labor. No householder dare refuse to billet soldiers. That the supply of soldiers might not fail, governors were adjured, in solemn state despatches, to insist on marriages at fifteen years of age, and governors and bishops complacently reported on a good crop of babies. That there might be no lack of women, they were shipped to Canada like cattle. A despatch to Talon reads: “His Majesty has heard with pleasure that of the 165 girls sent to Canada last year, only 15 remained unmarried. Will send out 150 more girls this year. He did well to order that the volunteers should be deprived of the privilege of trading and hunting, if not married within two weeks after the arrival of the girls. Has given orders that the girls who are sent to Canada

“shall be strong and healthy.” While the Kings of France treated the habitants of Canada as animals to fulfil their behest, they were no worse than the priests. As a means of converting the Indians, the Jesuits kept urging young men to marry squaws, offering a dowry as an inducement. Select your brides from the wigwam, was the advice to young men of Bishop Lavai. At first the French Government rather approved of this, but, finally realizing what it meant, sent an order to the governors to oppose intermarriage with the savages: if the priests had not, the administration at Paris had some regard for the purity of the French race. The clergy, on moral grounds, encouraged early marriages, and finally it became part of the law that a girl could marry when 14, and a lad when 18. Neither the endorsement of priest nor legislator could change the law of nature, and to this hour Quebec suffers the consequences in its hideous mortality of the children of immature parents and the unusual proportion of survivors defective in mind or body.

The picture of Canada under France strikes the onlooker especially in one regard—the complete isolation of its people from the rest of the world. From first to last the royal orders are that there was to be no intercourse except with France. No foreign vessel was to be permitted to enter the St. Lawrence, no goods of foreign manufacture to be imported. When scarlet cloth was required for the Indians by the traders it was the agents of the King who secured it in England. Once, during a time of war, it was necessary to ship furs by a neutral; the Dutch vessel that was chartered was not allowed to go within thirty miles of Quebec, and twenty soldiers were put on board to make sure no foreign merchandise would be landed. To visit the English colonies was more severely punished than robbery. Canoes found on rivers leading southward were broken, and a lookout party maintained to see that none enter them. Woe to the hunter who was discovered to have sold his beaver hides in Albany. The

penalties of the secular power were reinforced by those of the priesthood. From the pulpit repulsive stories were told of the Protestant settlers to the south of Canada and the terrors of the Church threatened against whoever dared to approach them. The result of all this was, that for 150 years New France was substantially a big convent, whose inhabitants were not permitted to go beyond its bounds: kept as a preserve of feudal ideas, customs, and tyranny, and, at the same time, of priestly exclusiveness. He who would grasp the political problems that confront the Dominion must realize what this means, and trace the shadow of these times in darkening our national life—the shadow projected over the Dominion by the descendants of people who, for five generations, were inured to implicit obedience to absolutism in Church and State, kept separate and by themselves from the rest of the world as a preserve for priest and-crowned tyrant.

Under the rule of the French kings Canada, in the common-sense of the word, never was a colony. In our day, when we speak of a colony we mean a body of people who have left their native shore to better their condition in a new country. That was never so with New France, which came into existence as a place for fur-traders and ended as a military dependency. In both states of existence it was actually a preserve of the Church of Rome. The priests who came as missionaries to the Indians, determined this. In 1615, when Champlain sailed with four Recollet priests, an edict forbidding Protestants to live in Canada was promulgated. Hitherto French Protestants had been the main agents in carrying on its trade, henceforth they were excluded. The charter granted the company of the hundred associates in 1627 went further, it specified the company was not only to permit no Protestant to take up his abode in Canada, but to exclude persons of all other nationalities—they must keep New France exclusively for Catholic Frenchmen. Thirty-seven years later, when the West India Com-

pany was given possession, the order was repeated—they were to permit no Protestants to settle. The enforcement of these regulations fell to the Jesuits. Not a ship cast anchor off Cape Diamond they did not board on the hunt for Protestants. The Protestants of Rochelle in those days were the sailors of France, and it was rare none were among the crew. They were kept under watch until the ship left: no worship by them on deck, no singing of hymns, was allowed. If among the emigrants they discovered one tinged with Protestant views he was taken in hand on landing to be disciplined. The search of the Jesuits was best rewarded when there were soldiers on board. Levied in different parts of France, it was not surprising stray Huguenots were found. In this they were encouraged by the King. In a memorial, dated June, 1686, he tells Governor Denonville he “is delighted to inform him that a great number of conversions to the Catholic religion are taking place. Have revoked the Edict of Nantes. Hopes that the example given by France will be of use in Canada. Must labor for the conversion of the heretics. If any of them are obstinate, place soldiers in garrison among them, or cause them to be imprisoned, compelling the severity with the care necessary for their instruction, as to which he must act in concert with the Bishop.” What “instruction” meant and how those who fell into their hands were “instructed,” the Relations of the Jesuits tell—the means they used to dispossess the devil who blinded the heretic, his seeing a new light, his penitence, his adding to the triumphs of the confessors. What was done with those who would not recant, the Relations pass in silence. Of their fate, however, we have a glimpse due to the ecclesiastical and civil authorities disagreeing as to what should be done with a Protestant who persevered in his convictions. Among the new arrivals was Daniel Vvil, whom the Jesuits discovered to be a Protestant. He was taken in hand by them, what the means they

used we are not told, with the result that he agreed to become a Catholic. With great pomp he was admitted by Bishop Laval into the Catholic Church. Relieved of the pressure that had been brought to bear upon him and which had caused him to do violence to his conscience, Vvil refused to attend mass. He was brought before an ecclesiastical court when he declared his regret at abjuring the reformed faith, and his determination to hold to it. The court found him guilty as a contumacious heretic and doomed him to death. He was handed over to the civil authorities to carry out the sentence. Governor Argenson refused, and it is his refusal that caused the preservation of the facts of the case. Had he done as it is to be presumed his predecessors did in like cases, obeyed the order of the priests, we should never have heard of the fate of Daniel Vvil. Awaiting a change of governor, Vvil was kept a prisoner in the midst of a community where none dare express to him a word of sympathy or bestow an act of kindness. History abounds with instances of weak men facing death with fortitude when the sentence was carried out promptly, but here was a man who knew death was inevitable, yet subjected to the suspense of months, all the while knowing he could save his life by submission to the priests who tormented him with their importunities. Can his constancy be otherwise explained than that, in his prison, he had an unseen visitor who fulfilled the promise made to whoever confessed him before men? The fatal hour came in the fall of 1661. A new governor had arrived, D'Avaugour, who had no qualms in obeying the bishop. Vvil was brought forth from his cell, led to the public square of Quebec, and, in presence of a crowd of spectators, faced a platoon of soldiers. The captain uttered the word of command, there was a volley of flame and smoke, and Vvil lay stretched on the ground, pierced by many bullets.

When New France had attained its height in population, it was still the boast that among the no incon-

siderable number there was not a single Protestant. "Praised be God," writes Governor Denonville in an official report, out of the twelve thousand souls who make up New France, "there is not a heretic here." The children stolen in the raids on New England were handed over to the nuns, and their baptism and first communion made occasions of special celebration. The extreme to which the spirit of exclusiveness was carried is shown in the case of a visitor from New England, who, possessed with the idea that a passage to the Pacific could be found by way of the Saguenay, had crossed to the St. Lawrence by following the Chaudiere. He was promptly arrested and sent away by the first ship. A vexed question, which divided the colony, was whether it was justifiable to sell brandy to the Indians. The opinion of the theologians of the University of Toulouse was sought. They decided it was, their chief reason being that thereby the Indians were protected from heresy, for, if they could not buy brandy in Canada, they would go to the English settlements in New York State.

Frontenac complains that the confessional was used as an inquisition into the inner life of each family, and for every thoughtless word regarding Church or clergy the offender was called to account. Frontenac was not alone in objecting to the use made of the confessional as a means of espionage on family life. La Salle, the explorer, complained that, by its means, the priests "enter as it were by force into the secrets of "families, and thus make themselves formidable." Frontenac declared their prying into the lives of the people to be worse than the Spanish Inquisition. La Motte-Cadillac, on his arrival at Quebec, was astounded at the state of society, and wrote a friend "nobody "can live here but simpletons and slaves of the ecclesiastical domination." The interference in family affairs extended to dictating dress and amusements. In a mandement, Bishop de Saint Vallier complained of the immodest headdress of the women, "appearing

“both abroad and at home, and often even in the churches, with their heads uncovered or only half concealed under a transparent head-dress, with a collection of ribbons, laces, curls and other vanities; and what is still more to be deplored and fills our soul with grief is, that they do not hesitate to make themselves the instruments of the devil, and cooperate in the loss of souls redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, by laying bare their necks and shoulders, scandalizing thereby, and causing the loss of numberless persons.”

The punishments for breaking the rules laid down by the clergy were generally puerile, sometimes cruel. The girl who added a geegaw to her attire, the son who failed to return to the paternal roof by nine o'clock, the father who tarried in the tavern by the brandy-bottle, all fell within the discipline of the clergy. Their interference extended to what is now called criminal law. On the ground that crimes concerned morals, they were active prosecutors. The rack was a recognized means of discovering evidence, the slitting of lips, mutilation of tongue, ears and hands ordinary punishments, and burning at the stake not unknown. The monastic orders to whom grants of land had been given, used their power as seigniors to enforce their clerical commands. The scandal of this became so clamant that the King finally deprived both Sulpicians and Jesuits of judicial power. The bishops were repeatedly checked by the King for trenching on the sphere of the courts. Bishop Saint Vallier issued an order to his cures to refuse absolution and the Easter sacrament to those who did not pay their tithes: he was commanded to retract. The proscription of Protestants was continued to the end. The commerce of the world at large, then as now, was in the hands of Protestants, and branches in Quebec and Montreal represented Protestant continental firms. At first the members of those houses were allowed to stay during the season of navigation only—they must

go before the St. Lawrence was frozen. This rule in latter days was relaxed. The priests made complaint to the King. May 30, 1754, he sent the order to send away all Protestants of foreign origin, and to confer with the bishop as to what was to be done with those who were French. The governor replied that to drive away Protestant traders would be an injury. "There are fourteen Protestant houses," he tells the King, "which carry on three-fourths of the trade of the country, and if they were driven out the colony would greatly suffer, the Canadian merchants not being numerous enough nor having the capital to meet all requirements." The King's answer was to write to the bishop to look into the matter, and if it could be done without too great an injury to trade, to have the Protestant merchants sent to France. Thus, up to the last hour of French rule, Protestants were denied domicile.

It is a cant phrase of our day to speak of the French regime as "the heroic period" of Canadian history, as a season of delightful romance, of Arcadian simplicity. They who do so, know not of what they speak. The official correspondence that has come down from these days reveals the pettiness of the French court in trying to regulate details beneath the dignity of a great State, its employing its officers to act as spies on one another; the jealousies of these officers and their strivings to supersede those above them. What sense in talking of the age of explorers, when we have the despatches of the King commanding that no encouragement be given La Salle? Greed and dishonesty characterized those in office, who used their power to oppress the poor. Personal liberty there was none, for the people were under unceasing supervision. Punishments were of constant occurrence for infraction of Church duty. Failure to attend mass or working on a saint's day were crimes. Owing to his having appealed to the council against his sentence, there has been preserved in the official records the case of Louis Gaboury, con-

victed of having eaten meat during Lent. He was to be bound to the public whipping-post for three hours, then taken to the door of his parish church where, on his knees, he was to beg pardon from God, to pay a fine of 20 francs and the milk of a cow for a year.

The control of the individual and of the family involved that of the government of the country. Frontenac remarked, "Masters in spiritual matters is "a powerful lever for moving everything else." The clergy dictated the course the governor and his subordinates were to follow, and, on refusal, there was trouble. When a governor was persistent in rejecting their advice, they used their influence at the court of France to secure his recall. No inconsiderable part of the state papers relating to New France concern contentions between the clergy and the governors. Talon, sagacious, cool, politic, did his best to secure the support of the priests in his patriotic policy of trying to make New France self-sustaining, yet, when nearing his departure, he reports to Colbert, "I should "have had less trouble and more praise if I had been "willing to leave the power of the church where I "found it. It is easy to incur the ill-will of the Jesu- "its if one does not accept all their opinions and "abandon one's self to their direction even in temporal "matters, for their encroachments extend to affairs of "police, which concern only the civil magistrate." Five years later, after prolonged experience and wide knowledge of the country, Frontenac wrote the same minister, "Nearly all the disorders in New France "arise from the ambition of the priests, who want to "join in their spiritual authority an absolute power "over things temporal, and who persecute all who do "not submit entirely to them." First under the Jesuits, then Laval and his successor, St. Vallier, New France was governed according to their ideas, for the resistance of the governors was intermittent and, in the end, ineffective. Of Laval it was Colbert who declared, "He assumes a domination far beyond that

“of other bishops throughout the Christian world, and particularly in the kingdom of France.”

To preserve the inhabitants of New France from heresy, it was deemed necessary by the priests to keep them in a state of tutelage. Although they could not read, no heretical book should be brought from across the sea. A French visitor, La Hontain, declares the priests “prohibit and burn all books but books of devotion.” The intolerance of New France was a reflex of that of the Mother Country. The first year William III. sat on the throne of England, a plan was agreed on at Versailles for the conquest of New York. The sealed instructions given to the commander of the expedition were, that on his overcoming the garrison and obtaining possession of the country, he was to confiscate the lands and all other property of the Protestants, whether Dutch or English, and send them out of the country. Untoward events prevented the sailing of the fleet.

It is the constant pretension of the priests that the country which submits implicitly to their direction thereby ensures both happiness and prosperity: that the only one certain means of a people becoming good and great is to place themselves under their direction. In no other part of the world was their rule ever more complete than in New France, which lay at the feet of the priests from Champlain to Vaudreuil—a period of 150 years. They had every chance to make good the pretension that their church alone has the secret of national success, yet socially, commercially, intellectually, and politically, New France was a failure. The reports of intendants are dotted with complaints of the pride and sloth of the people, necessitating public distribution of alms and providing a house of refuge. The country swarmed with beggars. Bishop de St. Vallier complained he was overwhelmed by their visits. Bishop Pontbriand, in 1743, suggested to the King that steps be taken to rid Quebec of beggars by banishing them. Charlevoix, the Jesuit his-

torian, could not help contrasting the easy circumstances of the New England settlers with the poverty of the people of New France. Material prosperity is not everything, and it is possible for great moral virtue to exist where privation prevails. It was not so, on the evidence of two bishops, in Canada. Bishop Mornay asked permission from Governor Maurepas to keep the gate on the terrace leading to his palace locked, because the lawn beneath his windows was made an idling place in the evenings. "Under my window," the bishop writes, "it is that the lower class of people "of both sexes assemble after supper; that these "people there indulge in licentious conversation; that "drunkards come there to sleep off their potations, "etc.; that on Sundays and fete days one's head is split "by the noise that the people make playing at skittles "and ball." The state of morals in Quebec and smaller towns was a reflex of that of Versailles. To this the last bishop under French rule bears striking evidence. In a pastoral issued during the winter of 1760, Bishop Briand deplores the little zeal for piety displayed everywhere; the injurious and wicked speeches maintained against those in whom we ought to place, all our confidence; the profane diversions to which we are addicted, the insufferable excesses of the games of chance, the impious hypocrisy in derision or rather in contempt of religion; the various crimes that have multiplied in the course of this winter. Then he goes on to ask, "Were there ever such open robberies, so "many heinous crimes of injustice, such shameful "rapines heard of? Who has not seen in this colony "families devoted publicly to sins of the most odious "nature? Who ever beheld so many abominations?" Except in furs, New France had no trade worth mentioning; her wholesale merchants were few, with headquarters elsewhere. Her retailers were men of small capital. Intellectually she was dead. There were no schools outside the towns, and these confined their curriculum to the three "R's" and instruction in the

catechism. There was no printing press in the colony, and no resident of it was allowed, without the King's leave, to have anything printed in France. The priests had been given every opportunity to mould New France, and this was the result—a country without a single element of national greatness. The long tutelage of Quebec under the priests explains many of the perplexing conditions that to-day hinder the Dominion in her onward march, for although the Conquest ended the rule of France it did not end priest rule. Shall the subtle influence that was the blight of New France, be exercised on the institutions of our free Dominion?

CHAPTER III.

Canada Under British Rule

That Canada should have fallen to the British by force every generation of its inhabitants since Wolfe's victory has had cause to regret, and it will be cause for regret to generations to come. Freedom of the will in the individual causes him to resent his career being shaped by the violent interference of an outsider, and the same sentiment is as strong in a collective sense. No people ever yet were overcome by foreigners who accepted the yoke of the conqueror with contented resignation. It would be a reflection on the Almighty, whose creatures we are, were it otherwise. The sense of wrong, the spirit of independence, the natural love for kith and kin, the traditions of the race, survive the lost battle, and, though they may smoulder, will flame out long after the deed of conquest. In a material sense the French-Canadians profited by the change of rulers. They had been treated by the Kings of France as slaves—refused self-government even in municipal affairs—their services and property taken without compensation by the representatives of the King, who were as corrupt and worthless a lot of officials as ever cursed any country. Let him who wishes to know how New France was governed, not go to Parkman, who picks out from the musty records only the details that enable him to embellish his delightful narrative, but to the despatches to the governors and intendants and their reports, and

he will learn how, in the minutest details of daily life, its inhabitants were under a system of absolutism destructive alike of initiative and of self-respect. At the hands of the King's officials and at those of his seigniors, the inhabitants knew naught save oppression and robbery. When Quebec fell they were in a pitiable condition. The habitant's horses had been seized to draw the war-supplies of Montcalm and de Levis, his oxen confiscated to feed their soldiers, his sons drafted to fill the gaps in their ranks, and to raise a crop to keep his other children alive, he had to harness his wife and daughters to the plough. The only money he had seen for years was paper promises to pay, which had become discredited. Even had the war between France and England not resulted in the capture of Quebec, in another year famine would have compelled the surrender of Canada. To the common people the coming of the British meant emancipation from oppression, and security in the enjoyment of what they earned. For the first time in his life the habitant was his own master and allowed to keep the fruits of his labor. It is interesting to read of what the expectations of the peasants were at the time of the conquest. They looked for coercion and iron-handed oppression: they expected to be treated as they had treated the settlers of the New England frontier, but, instead, were met with kindness. It is a fact, as important to bear in mind as it is undeniable, that the French in Canada never knew content and plenty until they came under British rule. No degree of material prosperity, however, can smother sentiment. The hand that gave them security and justice was the hand of a stranger, of a stranger who had taken possession of their country by force, whose creed they had been taught to abhor as an invention of the evil one, and whose language they did not understand.

The reflection is a provoking one, that the brutalities of war should have substituted a forced union for the friendly alliance of the two peoples that was com-

ing. The hour of Frontenac's recall sounded the doom of the hope of New France's sovereignty on the American continent, and with the passing of that hope her drift into an alliance with the English-speaking colonies was unavoidable. The colonies were advancing by leaps and bounds into self-governing nations, increasing in population and in material resources: New France had ceased to grow and was tending downwards. Her people numbered less than 100,000; those of the English colonies nigh 3,000,000. The situation of the inhabitants of Canada had come to the point when they could no longer defy those colonies, and self-preservation would have forced them into a treaty of amity. New France could not continue as it was, and Wolfe's victory only precipitated the change. How great would have been the difference, however, between the French voluntarily seeking the co-operation of the English and their being forced into submission, we can see in comparing the spirit of the Creoles of Louisiana towards the Anglo-Saxon with that of the French-Canadian. Considering how Canada was made part of the British Empire lessens surprise that thrice fifty years has failed to wither the national aspirations of the losers. At the same time, recalling how much British rule has done for them, that it rescued them from tyranny and an intolerable administration of affairs, that it has given them self-government and equal rights, that every avenue of honor, profit, and responsibility in the service of the Empire has been thrown open to them; that all the privileges that pertain to the native-born Briton have been made theirs; it is surprising that assimilation has made such trifling progress, and that the feeling of exclusiveness should prevail to the degree which exists. In tracing to its source why this is so, the cause of the peculiar difficulties of the Dominion is also found.

With the coming of the British the military element of New France disappeared, leaving behind the seigniors, the clergy, and the habitants. The total

number speaking French who became subjects of George III. is commonly set down at 60,000. In January, 1759, a census was taken to ascertain how many were able to bear arms in the coming campaign. It showed there were 15,229 between sixteen and sixty who could take the field, and the total population was reported as 85,000. Twenty months later, at the capitulation, Vaudreuil handed the British authorities an official statement that of enrolled militia there were 16,000. During those twenty months the male population suffered from the effects of war, so that to ascertain the total population a higher ratio than the usual one to five must be taken. Multiplying 16,000 by six would show the population to be nigh 100,000. There was no such exodus to France after the conquest as is generally represented. The official letters of the time show there was great difficulty in securing shipping for the surrendered regulars of Vaudreuil's army, and that the number of resident Canadians who asked to be sent to France was trifling. Instead of the native population being reduced by the change of rulers, it was increased, for General Murray reports that from British authority ensuring security to those who cultivated the soil, there was a large influx of Acadians who had been living in New England. When the treaty of Paris was signed the population must have exceeded 100,000, and only those who want to make out miracles where none exist will repeat the statement of 60,000. The inhabitants, with trifling exceptions, resided on strips of land along the banks of the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu. For the first time the farmer of New France knew what security means, being safe alike from the attack of the Indian and of the domiciliary visit of an official who, in the name of the French king, forcibly requisitioned whatever the army needed, not excluding his sons. More than that, for the first time, they began to feel the ennobling sense that they were their own masters. As one English officer put it in his report, "they begin to

“feel they are no longer slaves.” Haldimand, who spoke French and freely mixed with the people, declares they were well pleased with the change, which put new life into them and stimulated them to make undreamt of improvements in their condition. The new rulers were a surprise to the habitants. From infancy the English had been pictured to them as monsters who professed a religion born of the devil, and who would, if they captured New France, destroy everything that was French or Catholic. Finding them to be different was grateful to a people who were at their mercy. Knowing he would possess what he grew, the habitant applied himself as he had never done before to extending and cultivating his clearing, and from a state of living on the verge of famine he before long had a surplus to sell, and Canada became an exporter of grain. In one respect the habitant was disappointed. He had expected under the new ruler to be freed from the demands of the seignior. Why the claims of the seignior on the land were not confiscated, is probably to be explained by the relation of tenant and landlord being the only conceivable method of holding land of which General Murray and his military successors had any conception. That the man who has redeemed the land from forest for cultivation should own it, never seems to have flashed on their minds. In the Old World the noble leased the acres and the tenant paid him rent, and that the governing class had come to look upon as part of the Divine order. For the next fifty or sixty years we find the ruling class boggling over the difficulty of settling the question of ownership of the soil, one governor after another making experiments, all of which had as a feature, in some form or another, a lord of the manor and tenants. The seignior system was a survival of a form of feudalism no longer known in England, and which the new rulers at first did not comprehend. The seigniories had been granted by the French kings on condition that certain services be rendered him: the land was not sold

or bestowed, merely the usufruct was granted by the King in compensation of specified services. The moment those services ceased to be rendered the grants reverted to the crown. In like manner, the seignior allotted portions of the land thus ceded to him to men who bound themselves to do him homage, to render certain services, to pay a prescribed rent, and a fine should they sell. The rent was small, yet large to men in their circumstances: the fine was generally prohibitive as to sale. As King George did not want the services for which King Louis had ceded the land, the seigniors could not pretend they were rendering the obligations which entitled them to hold it. The seigniors were in the position of men who hold property under a servitude: when the servitude lapses, the property reverts to the owner. As suzerain by conquest, the seigniories fell to King George. Instead of taking possession, and declaring the censitaires owners, the British authorities dilly-dallied with the system, and it was left to hinder the advancement of the country, to be a standing grievance with the habitant, and to be a troublesome question with successive administrations for nigh a century. There is still a survival of the system in the rent fixed by the Act of 1854, and which will, some day, call for legislative remedy. The seigniors, who, without authority, arrogated to themselves the name noblesse, deprived of the petty civil positions and their pay as officers of the militia during French rule, did nothing to improve the country and formed a discontented class, from which the two Papineaus and like agitators were drawn.

While the seigniors retained their rents, the clergy lost their tithes. For fifteen years whatever support they drew outside their own resources, came either as voluntary gifts from their flocks, or, as Solicitor-General Wedderburn stated, under threat of excommunication. Nothing so helped to reconcile the habitants to the new rule as the abolition of tithes, for tithes had always been unpopular. The priests lost nothing

else. They were left undisturbed in their pastoral work, and shared in the prosperity that British rule brought. Abbe Le l'Isle Dieu, Vicar-General of the diocese, writing to Versailles in December, 1766, tells the minister: "The new Bishop of Quebec, who arrived on the 28th June, was acknowledged as titular Bishop, eight days after, by the English Government. . . . Our religion is professed as publicly as it was before the cession of the country. The only restriction imposed is that priests are not to be brought out here from France, unless they are natives of Canada or of the Colonies, within the jurisdiction of the diocese."

In the Province of Quebec the Church of Rome enjoys immunities and privileges unknown in any other part of the world—even in those countries which have Catholic sovereigns. Here, on British soil and under a Protestant King, that Church is not only, as it is right it should be, autonomous, unrestricted by the State in its spiritual sphere, but exercises many of the powers that belong to the State. It levies taxes for the building and upholding of its churches and the houses of its clergy, and a yearly tax for the support of the priest of each parish, and payment of these taxes is enforced by the machinery of the secular courts. The vows of nuns and religieus are recognized by the civil law. The real estate of the Church is exempted from taxation, and much of that real estate is made inalienable by mortmain. Education is placed in the hands of the bishops, who have a pledge that the legislature shall make no change in its regulations without their consent, nor interfere with their distribution of the grant of public money. While the Provincial Government is thus the servant of the priests, the hierarchy resents all appearance of supremacy of the State, and for this reason disregards Dominion proclamations, even when for fasts or thanksgivings. In a word, the Church sits as a queen in Quebec, panoplied in her assumptions by law, receiving from the

State whatever she asks, dominating the Province as the first interest to be considered and served.

When it is pointed out that this supremacy is inconsistent with the rights of British subjects who do not own her sway, that the concessions made to her are destructive of their privileges, the answer comes that the Church of Rome has prescriptive rights in the Province of Quebec which cannot by either legislature or parliament be modified, much less taken away. The contention is, that when Canada was ceded, Great Britain bound herself by the treaty of Paris to continue to the priesthood the privileges and powers they possessed during the period of the French occupation. As I will prove, in the closing chapter, by citations from the records of New France, these privileges and powers were exceedingly restricted. The point, however, to be considered now, is whether the treaty of Paris bound Britain to guarantee special privileges to the priesthood. Do facts support this assertion?

The first time the British came in contact with the demands of the priests for exclusive treatment was at the capitulation of Quebec after Wolfe's victory. The officer in command, among the terms he asked in consenting to surrender, included a request that there be no interference with religion. In his reply, dated September 18, 1759, General Townshend stated:

“The free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion is granted, likewise safeguards to all religious persons, as well as to the bishop who shall be at liberty to come and exercise, freely and with decency, the functions of his office, whenever he shall think proper; until the possession of Canada shall have been decided between their Britannic and most Christian majesties.”

Fearful of outrage on church and convent the French officer asked for assurance of protection, which was granted. As to the bishop exercising his functions in the town he could do so, until the Kings of England and France decided what the future of Can-

ada should be. On the standing of the Papacy the article has no bearing, it simply concedes what any humane officer would grant. The following summer General Amherst invaded Canada from the West and after driving the enemy's forces before him invested Montreal. Vaudreuil recognized the hopelessness of the struggle, that it must end in surrender, and so, while Amherst was waiting for his cannon to come from Lachine to batter down the wall, he received a flag of truce asking for terms. Amherst was willing, and gave his beaten opponent the privilege of suggesting the terms he desired. Vaudreuil was solicitous as to the fate of his soldiers and of the citizens alone, but the priests insisted on also preferring their demands, which they did in these words:

“The free exercise of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion shall subsist entire in such manner that all the states and the peoples of the towns and countries, places and distant posts, shall continue to assemble in the churches and to frequent the sacraments as heretofore, without being molested in any manner, directly or indirectly. These people shall be obliged, by the English Government, to pay the priests the tithes and all the taxes they were used to pay under the government of his most gracious Majesty (the King of France).”

Opposite this demand General Amherst wrote:

“Granted as to the free exercise of their religion; the obligation of paying the tithes to the priests will depend on the King's pleasure.”

Years afterwards, when clerical pretensions revived, a meaning favorable to the levying of tithes was endeavored to be given to the words, “Depend on the King's pleasure.” How did priests and people understand them in the early years of British occupation? Their practice was the best interpretation of what the words meant. Fourteen years after Amherst wrote these words, Attorney-General Maseres, who had resided in Quebec, was called as a witness before the

House of Commons. Standing at the bar the question was put, "Since the conquest have habitants had the option of refusing to pay tithes?" He answered: "They certainly have, and sometimes make use of it. The priests never presume to sue for tithes, either in the court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, knowing there is no possibility of succeeding. The ground of that opinion of theirs, and of mine is, the strong words of General Amherst's answer to the demands on the part of the French General, for the continuation of the obligation of the people to pay their tithes and other dues, namely, 'Granted as to the exercise of their religion, but as to the obligation of paying tithes, that will depend upon the King's pleasure.' That has been universally understood, till now (1774) to have been a positive dispensing with the obligation. It has often happened that the habitants have not paid tithes; much oftener that they did, from their regard to their religion."

To judge fully of the intention of Amherst with regard to the demands of the priests, it is proper to consider all the articles inserted at their instance. On reading them there is no mistaking the attitude of General Amherst. As a tolerant man he wished the people to have liberty of conscience, as a just man he wished to dispossess no one of his property. Beyond this he would not go. He would recognize none of the privileges the priests had enjoyed under the King of France, would not even allow the nomination of the bishop to the French King, or grant power to the bishop to erect new parishes.

Three years later there was a meeting of representatives of Austria and Prussia, of Britain and France to draft a treaty of peace. When the article regarding religion was reached in the treaty that concerned Canada, the French ministers asked that it read:

"His Britannic Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada; he will consequently give the most effect-

“ual orders that his new Catholic subjects may profess
“the worship of their religion according to the rites of
“the Roman Church as they have done.”

The British representatives would not consent. They would grant all Amherst had agreed to at the capitulation, and nothing more. They demanded that the words, “as they have done,” be struck out. The French ministers pled in vain for their retention. They were scored out. Fearful even then that the article might be construed into Britain’s agreeing to continue the Church of Rome on the status it had under France, they insisted on adding the words, “So far as the laws of Great Britain permit.” After some demur, the French, finding it impossible to get the Englishmen to recede, agreed, and the article as confirmed read:

“His Britannic Majesty agrees to grant the liberty
“of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada:
“he will, consequently, give the most effectual orders
“that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess
“the worship of their religion, according to the rites
“of the Roman Church, as far as the laws of Great
“Britain permit.”

The meaning of the article is obvious, whatever privileges Catholics were to enjoy, were to be measured by British law and not by French. The article is similar to the one in the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, in which France surrendered Nova Scotia to Britain, which set forth that the Acadians would be allowed “the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion as far as the laws of Great Britain do permit the same.” Nobody pretends that this agreement gave the Acadians anything beyond toleration, and this language, repeated fifty years afterwards, conceded no more to the Catholics of New France. To the negotiators of the treaty of Paris the agreement was familiar, and so was its interpretation in its application for half a century to Nova Scotia.

The English commissioners were resolute in having

it fully understood that the subjects whom France was abandoning were to come under the rule of Britain divested entirely of everything that pertained to their old status, and to that end insisted on the adoption of this additional article:

The King of France "cedes and guarantees to his Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada and its dependencies . . . and makes over the whole . . . in the most ample manner and form, without restriction and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guarantee."

The conveyance of Canada was thus made without a single reservation or condition in favor of the inhabitants, the French King abandoning his late subjects to the conqueror with brutal indifference. In the entire treaty there is not a single word about the French language or French laws. For the prevailing impression, that the treaty of Paris placed the French-Canadians on a different plane from other British subjects, by preserving to them certain distinctive privileges, there is no foundation. That such a notion exists is due solely to the assertion of those whose interest it is to have it believed, but the fact is, that whatever is found exceptional in Quebec rests not upon treaty-rights, and whoever says to the contrary, asserts what he cannot prove.

The treaty was signed in February, 1763, and the following October King George issued a proclamation defining the limits of the new dependency, prescribing how it was to be governed, and the conditions on which settlers could rely. So soon as military rule could with safety be superseded, Canada was to be created into a Province, similar to the thirteen colonies to the south of it, and have an assembly representative of the people, who would make laws and otherwise provide for its government. Until such time, the royal proclamation went on to declare:

"All persons inhabiting in, or resorting to, our said colony, may confide in our royal protection for

“the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of our realm
“of England.”

The proclamation instructs the governor to constitute courts for trying cases, both civil and criminal, as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England. There is not a word in the proclamation modifying this assurance of English law to whoever should settle in Canada, and not a word of any exception in favor of the French-Canadians. This proclamation of George III. is unqualified and absolute in placing Canada under the same conditions as Massachusetts or New York. The proclamation declared Canada to be English, and nothing but English. There is not even reservation of the French tenure of land. In the direction as to selling lands to settlers and of grants to soldiers and sailors who had served in the late war, it is specified the land shall be conveyed on the same terms as exist in the other British colonies. This proclamation, issued a few months after the treaty of Paris was signed, recognizes in no way that French-Canadians were to have any privileges other than those that pertained to them as British subjects. In this there was no disappointment to the French-Canadians. Judge Hey, the first Chief Justice of Quebec under English rule, in his evidence before the House of Commons in 1774, testified that at the conquest the French-Canadians “neither expected to retain their
“religion nor their laws, and looked upon themselves
“as a ruined and abandoned people. The general expectation among the habitants was that King George
“would be as absolute as their late royal master, and
“order them to be Protestants.” The lenity with which they were treated, Quebec’s first Attorney-General, Maseres, confirmed in this remarkable statement, “I am of opinion,” he said, “with General Amherst, that if the priests had been given their living
“(that is, pensioned), and their places had been supplied by Protestants, the Canadians would have been
“satisfied.” Such was the slavish reverence ingrained

on the habitants for their King, that there is no cause to doubt the conclusions of these witnesses, one of whom spoke French equally with English.

General Murray, on becoming Canada's first civil governor, received instructions from the Secretary of State, Earl Egremont, to guide him. He was told (August 13th, 1763), to guard against attempts by the French Government through the priests to keep the habitants in expectation of restoration of the rule of Louis. Here are the Earl's words:

“His Majesty has reason to suspect that the French
“may be disposed to avail themselves of the liberty
“of the Catholic religion granted to the inhabitants,
“to keep up their connection with France, and to in-
“duce them to join for the recovery of the country.
“The priests must, therefore, be narrowly watched,
“and any who meddle in civil matters be removed.
“Whilst there is no thought of restraining the new
“subjects in the exercise of their religion according
“to the rites of the Romish Church, the condition is,
“as far as the laws of Great Britain permit, which
“can only admit of toleration, the matter being clearly
“understood in the negotiation for the definite treaty
“of peace, the French ministers proposing to insert
“the words ‘comme ci devant’ (as they have done),
“and did not give up the point until they were plainly
“told it would be deceiving them to insert these
“words. You are, however, to avoid everything that
“can give the least unnecessary alarm or disgust to
“the new subjects. The greatest care must be used
“against the priest Le Loutre, should he return to
“Canada, where he is not to be allowed to remain, and
“every priest coming to Canada must appear before
“the governor for examination and to take the oath
“of allegiance.”

This is the evidence of a nobleman who was present while the treaty was being negotiated, and is positive proof as to what was the object in adding the clause, “As far as the laws of Great Britain per-

“mit.” Britain was asked to continue the status of the priests as it had been under France, and Britain said No, and added nine words to the article which decisively deprived the priests of their powers under French rule and placed them where the law of Britain placed them. Ten years after the treaty was ratified, when the Quebec Act was being contemplated, the law officer of the House, Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Chancellor, gave this written opinion on the article:

“This qualification (‘as far as the laws of Great Britain permit’) renders the article of so little effect, from the severity with which, though seldom executed, the laws of England are armed against the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, that the Canadian must depend more upon the benignity and wisdom of your Majesty’s Government for the protection of his religious rights than upon the provisions of the treaty.”

Canada having been made by the treaty of Paris, part and parcel of the British Empire, arrangements had to be perfected for its government. In December, 1763, General Murray received his appointment as governor of the Province of Quebec, with minute instructions as to what he was to do. The following were the directions he was to follow in ecclesiastical affairs:

“And, whereas, we have stipulated, by the late definite treaty of peace, concluded at Paris the 10th February, 1763, to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada, and that we will consequently give the most precise and most effectual order, that our new Roman Catholic subjects in that Province may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Roman Church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit; it is therefore our will and pleasure, that you do, in all things regarding the said inhabitants, conform with great exactness to the stipulations of the said treaty in this respect. You are not to permit of

“any ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the See of Rome,
“or any other foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction
“whatsoever, in the Province under your government.
“And to the end that the Church of England may be
“established, both in principles and practices, and
“that the said inhabitants may, by degrees, be induced
“to embrace the Protestant religion, and their children
“be brought up in the principles of it; we do hereby
“declare it to be our intention, when the said Province
“shall have been accurately surveyed, and divided
“into townships, districts, precincts, or parishes, in
“such manner as shall be hereinafter directed, all possible encouragement shall be given to the erecting of
“Protestant schools in the said districts, townships and
“precincts, by settling, appointing and allotting
“proper quantities of land for that purpose, and
“also for a glebe and maintenance for a Protestant
“minister and Protestant schoolmasters; and you are
“to consider and report to us, by our commissioners
“for trade and plantations, by what other means the
“Protestant religion may be promoted, established and
“encouraged in our Province under your government.”

In the instructions there is not a word as to the French language, while as to courts and laws General Murray is advised to copy those of the other American colonies, especially of Nova Scotia.

These are the facts of the treaty: (1) The French King asked that the article of the treaty regarding religion read so as to leave the priests their old status. (2) This the British not only refused, but inserted words to make it clear the priests would only have the status allowed by the English laws then in force. (3) To make the matter more definite, an article was included in the treaty declaring the French King made over his subjects in Canada without restriction. (4) Following the treaty King George issued a proclamation declaring English law to be the law of Quebec. (5) The priests recognized they possessed no longer the status under the French regime by not

exacting tithes or dues by law. (6) The instructions to the first British governor were that he was not to permit any ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome, and was told it was the intention to make the Church of England the Established Church of Canada.

Positive and continued assertion goes a long way with people too indolent or too careless to inquire whether such assertion has a foundation of fact. For generations the people of Canada have been listening to solemn assurances that the treaty of Paris secured to Quebec peculiar privileges, and these assurances have been accepted, although reference to the treaty, even without considering the circumstances under which it was drawn, or its interpretation by the governors and officials who had to carry it into practice, would show they are falsehoods. Yet these untruthful assertions continue to be daily made. Take one recent instance. The Montreal Bar was invited to send a representative to the annual banquet of the New York Law Association, held at Albany, in February, 1907, and their batonnier, P. B. Mignault, K.C., was deputed. In his speech Mr. Mignault said:

“It seems to me that, speaking for the Montreal Bar, I might be permitted to refer to the system of laws under which we practise our profession. The Province of Quebec is an old French colony. . . . When the fortune of arms went against its sturdy peasantry, they stipulated, in the articles of capitulation, that they should still be governed by the custom of Paris. This request was granted by the treaty of Paris.”

When an eminent lawyer thus perverts facts, small wonder the average French-Canadian believes what is exceptional in his privileges of church, language, and laws is secured by treaty. Seeing these immunities and privileges do not have any foundation in the treaty of Paris, what authority is there for them? They rest solely on legislation, and what legislation gave legislation can take away. The first conces-

sions were contained in the Act of 1774, and the opening so made has been taken advantage of to obtain a succession of favors from the Quebec and Dominion Legislatures. To the Quebec Act, regarded by French-Canadians as their Magna Charta, is to be traced the origin of the evils which have befallen the English-speaking settlers, and which it is the purpose of this monograph to describe. It is consequently necessary to examine it minutely and the circumstances under which it was passed.

There never would have been trouble in the consolidation of Canada with the Empire but for the priests and those who styled themselves the noblesse. The latter did not number seven score, and not one in a score had the slightest claim to the rank of nobility. They had held commissions in the French army, or had been officials in its civil service. The change of masters had left them without employment. The English governors would have given them positions, but could not owing to the oaths then prescribed, so they lived in poverty, too proud to work with their hands, but not too proud to accept gratuities. Idle and dissatisfied they agitated for changes that would better their position. Under the new rulers the habitants were prosperous and contented; the little knot of gentry were the reverse. Had the intolerant oaths that then barred the military and civil service been waived in their favor they would have become valuable servants of the British Crown: shut out by wretched regulations proud and poor, arrogant and vain, they resented the law that debarred them from positions of profit and honor and constituted a centre of discontent against the government. All the petitions for changes in law sprang from them. If, they said, Canada is British, it ought to be ruled as part of the Empire; self governing with representative institutions, and so they agitated for changes which would provide opportunities for benefitting themselves. The habitants, ignorant of constitutional government, took no part in an

agitation they could not comprehend: all the same, the little knot who were clamoring that Quebec be given a legislature pretended they represented the people as a whole.

For four years after Canada had come into Britain's possession it was under martial law. To the habitants this was nothing new: under the rule of Louis XV. they had known no other, it was simply a benigner form of the rule they were accustomed to. Garneau terms it the period of military despotism. Did New France ever know of any other form of government? The issuing of the royal proclamation of 1763 ended military rule by giving a governor and council to the Province. This continued until the Quebec Act came into force. The beginning of May, 1774, the government, without previous notice, laid before the House of Lords a bill to provide for the better government of the Province of Quebec. It met with no opposition, and in a fortnight was adopted and transmitted to the House of Commons. It was a short bill, embodying three important enactments:

Restored French law.

Repealed test oaths and invested the priesthood with authority to levy tithes and dues:

Provided that the Province be ruled by a governor and nominated council.

Who the author of the bill was cannot be stated with certainty. This is known, that it was advised by Carleton, then governor of the Province, and was strongly favored by the King. Lord North was Premier, and anything, no matter how foolish, George III. might ask, he would support, the more so, when, as this bill promised to do, he would be saved trouble in managing the new possession. Passed hurriedly by the Lords, the bill suddenly appeared in the House of Commons at the fag-end of a session, which was to be the last of that parliament, so when it came up for its second reading, out of a House of 588, only 134 were present. Believing the work of the session was ended

many members had gone home; many were engrossed in preparations to ensure their re-election. The expectation that the bill would slip through the Commons as easily as it had done in the House of Lords was speedily dissipated. The ministers had offered no explanations when the bill was introduced, and the motion that it be read a second time was formal. It likely would have passed without debate but for Thomas Townshend, who rose to oppose the motion, and to the close of the debates led the Opposition. He was against making Quebec French, and foretold what would be the result of the bill. With a prescience that tells of a penetrating intellect, he pointed out the effect it would have on those English emigrants who had settled in Canada, relying on the promises of the proclamation of 1763. "Would it not be better by degrees," Mr. Townshend asked, "to show the French-Canadians the advantages of the English law, and mix it with their own? You have done the contrary: you have taken from the English subject his benefit of the law of England, and you do not offer in exchange to the French subject that change of the constitution, which, if introduced in a moderate manner, would attach him to Britain. I am convinced," he added, "this bill, if carried into execution, will tend more to rivet in the Canadians prejudices in favor of French rule than it will attach them to the Government of England." Other members took the same view. Lord Cavendish held the true policy was to assimilate the new subjects, who had been, he remarked, transferred to Britain by the French King like deer in a park. To give them their old laws and customs will ever make them a distinct people. The necessity of keeping good faith with those who had settled under the promises of the proclamation of 1763 was urged by several. The persons affected were not the few who had found homes on the St. Lawrence, but the thousands who had moved from the thirteen colonies into the valleys of the Ohio

and Mississippi, for, it is to be understood, the term Province of Quebec was taken to cover the territory out of which great States were afterwards carved. The defence of the bill was purely apologetic. None of the ministers who spoke pretended they cared much for the bill, which was, they assured the House, merely experimental. Lord North was a master in big phrases and affectations of superior wisdom. He patronized the opponents of the bill, was sorry they could not understand it, or see they were misled by prejudices. In view of the interpretation placed on the bill by a certain class in our times, the Premier made two striking admissions. The bill was to be no irrevocable statute; he intended it should be changed or repealed in the near future. It was not, he told the members, to be a perpetual settlement. His Solicitor-General, afterwards Lord Chancellor Wedderburn, was more explicit. "An objection has been urged against the measure," he said, "namely, that there is no clause in the bill to make its operation temporary. Now, I consider this bill, in its nature to be temporary. A bill of this kind cannot but be temporary, because it is a bill of experiment." Lord North's other admission was more remarkable. "The honorable gentleman demands of us, will you extend into those countries the free exercise of the Roman religion? Upon my word, I do not see that this bill extends it further than the ancient limits of Canada," that is, the Church was to only exercise its privileges in those parishes in which it had done so under the French regime. Afterwards, when speaking on the objection to the presence of a Catholic bishop in Quebec, he remarked:

"Whether it is convenient to continue or to abolish the bishop's jurisdiction is another question. I cannot conceive that his presence is essential to the free exercise of religion; but I am sure that no bishop will be there under papal authority, because he will see that Great Britain will not permit any papal author-

“ity in the country. It is expressly forbidden in the “Act of supremacy.”

Those who read so much into the Quebec Act should consider the intention of the Premier who submitted it. Charles Fox, the keenest of parliamentarians, based a point of order on the restoring of tithes and dues. The bill proposes to restore them, said Fox, that is imposing a money-tax on the Catholics of Quebec. The bill comes to us from the House of Lords, which has no power to originate a bill to raise money, therefore the bill could not be considered. Lord North argued the bill did nothing of the kind, for it merely continued a tax that already existed. The retort was obvious. If tithes and dues existed, what need for the bill? If they did not exist, the bill must be thrown out on the point of order. This threw on the ministers the necessity of proving tithes were being levied, and their attempting to do so brought out evidence of the highest value as to the status of the Church of Rome in Canada since the cession. Mr. Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, declared he had it on the best authority that the priests had not been since the cession in possession of tithes and dues, nor will they unless the bill becomes law. Mr. Townshend said he also had it on the best authority that the priests never dared to sue for tithes. Sergeant Glynn, an eminent lawyer, scouted the drawing of any distinction between a tithe and a tax. The right to the tithe had ceased to exist, but would be restored if the bill passed. The right to the tithe, in future, he declared, is founded not on anything in the past, but upon this Act of Parliament, and will be a new right bestowed. The government had at last to acknowledge tithes and dues were not in existence in Canada, the Solicitor-General admitting the priests had not since the conquest sued in the temporal courts, but had adopted the method of enforcing payment by threats of excommunication. Fox had sustained his point of order, but the government overruled it by their vote. They pressed the

bill to its second reading, and it passed by 105 to 29. This showed its defeat was hopeless, but the opposition continued their efforts in the expectation of introducing amendments. Of these two may excite surprise in our times—their strenuous efforts to graft in the bill trial by jury in civil cases, and the right of habeas corpus. Daily experience in England was showing that only trial by jury stood between the people and the tyranny of the Crown, and that removal of habeas corpus might mean at Quebec *lettres de cachet*, then a real terror in Paris. To understand the force of arguments on these two points we must place ourselves in the position in which the people of England then stood, with the Crown stretching its prerogative to the utmost and believed to be ready to use, if it dared, the despotic instruments of the French court.

When the House went into committee on the bill, a new figure appeared, that of Edmund Burke, who at once lifted the debate to a higher plane. Pointing out that the House was asked to impose a code of laws with which no member was conversant, he demanded evidence as to the need of the bill, and of the nature of the French laws and customs it proposed to restore. It was monstrous to enact laws of which the members had no knowledge. There were, he understood, reports on the subject; he asked that these reports be laid on the table for the information of members. He was answered the reports were too voluminous to copy in time for use. Baffled in this direction, he demanded that witnesses be examined. The ministers say the bill is a necessity, and until such proof is adduced I, for one, will never give my vote for establishing French law in Canada. Shamed from forcing the bill into law without some proof of its need, witnesses were called. Of these only three were material, namely, the late governor, Sir Guy Carleton, afterwards made a peer with the title of Lord Dorchester, his Attorney-General at Quebec, Maseres, and his Chief Justice, Hey. It was well known Carleton was humor-

ing the King in his desire to have the bill passed, yet, to pointed questions, he had to acknowledge there was no dissatisfaction among the body of the people, that the habitants were prosperous and contented, that they did not want self-government, that they feared any change would lead to trouble and expense, and that the agitation for change was confined to the noblesse, who wanted admission to places of trust and honor equally with the English. The courts that had been in existence since the proclamation did not give satisfaction, and, in that regard, the desire to return to old customs and usages was general. The evidence of the other two witnesses went to confirm the belief that there was no urgent need for the bill. When asked how it would affect the English inhabitants, Hey cautiously answered it would disincline them to remain in Canada. "My 'idea,'" he said, "is that a country conquered from France was, if possible, to be made a British Province." He favored adopting the French laws regarding land and personality, but all else, commercial and criminal, should be English. The unexpected lenity with which the French had been treated, had caused them to rise in their demands, and they now asked nothing short of restoration of their laws and customs.

The calling of General Murray was demanded, but the ministers evaded the request. His testimony would have been of highest value, and would have been against the bill. One member said he especially wanted Murray called in order to explain the difference in estimates of the population of Canada. The statement of the bill that it was 65,000 at the time of the conquest, and was now 150,000, was incredible; and so it was.

Before entering into the principle of the bill, Burke raised a point concerning the status of English-speaking settlers. The bill as introduced conceded to Quebec the angle of land westward from the edge of Lake Champlain. On behalf of New York he ob-

jected to this, because it would bring into Quebec a number of settlers who believed they were on land belonging to New York. "Unless the line is rectified," urged Burke, "you reduce British free subjects to "French slaves." He went on to say the line proposed was not a line of geographical distinction merely, for it was not a line between New York and some other English settlement, but a line which would separate men from the right of an Englishman, by placing them under laws which are not the laws of England. Compared with English law and rule the eloquent Irishman exclaimed, the law and rule of France is slavery. You cannot deprive the forty or fifty thousand settlers on the New York frontier of the benefit of the laws of England, yet this is what the bill proposes. I would have English liberty carried into the French colonies, but I would not have French slavery carried into the English colonies. The case thus made out by Burke was so clear to the majority of the members, that Lord North yielded and accepted Burke's amendment that the boundary of Quebec from Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence be the 45th parallel of latitude, which continues to this day.

If English-speaking settlers drawn into Quebec by a change of boundary would be slaves, what of those then residing in Quebec or who thereafter might go there? This was also spoken of, and by those on the ministerial benches with a superciliousness and ignorance that was shocking in legislators engaged in shaping the destinies of a future empire. They held that the settlers then in Canada were not worth considering. They were few, less than 360 men, apart from women and children; nearly all were disbanded soldiers, who, having the privilege of selling liquor without license, were keeping taverns and grog-shops. The better class, the military and civil officials, and the merchants doing business in the ports, were merely sojourners, who expected to return to Britain. What

of future English-speaking settlers? The ministerialists declared there would be none. Mr. Dunning, opposing the bill, asked: Ought you not, upon the principle of strict justice, to make some provision for persons coming to Canada upon the promise of English laws, and who will find, should this bill pass, they have got into a country governed by a despotism—that they have got into a country where the religion they carried with them has no establishment? Solicitor-General Wedderburn replied that the government did not wish to see Canada draw from Britain any considerable number of her inhabitants. The number of English who have settled in Canada is very few, and “it is one object of this bill that these people “should not settle in Canada,” and went on to declare the policy of the government to be to prevent settlement of English beyond its southern boundary, or westward of the Ohio, to say to intending settlers, “this is the border, beyond which, for the advantage “of the whole empire you shall not extend yourselves.” This was the view taken by other of his colleagues, that English-speaking people should not be allowed to take up land in Canada, and, therefore, all they had to consider was the 150,000 French-Canadians. The gentlemen on the government benches looked on Canada as an inhospitable land of ice and snow, with a fringe of Frenchmen dwelling on the banks of the great river that had its source in an unexplored wilderness, whose vastness baffled imagination.

The ignorance that led them to denounce emigration was matched by their ignorance regarding religion. This assemblage, in which was no member who would not take the oaths of the test act, had no conception of religion existing without an establishment. The proof of the contrary, furnished by the Nonconformists of Britain and by the Puritans across the Atlantic, they totally ignored. There must be tithes and dues and state authority, or there could

be no Church. This pretension was used by those who, in supporting the bill, yet held they were sound Protestants. Even Burke was unable to take the larger view, that with the maintenance of religion the state should have nothing to do—that the existence of religion depends not upon the breath of kings or parliaments, and that State assistance smothers the Divine spark. The acute legal mind of Mr. Dunning saw the absurdity of what the government was proposing, that a Protestant King be head of an established Roman Catholic Church in Quebec, and the greater absurdity, which the Premier suggested, co-ordinate establishment of that Church and the Church of England, and argued for simple toleration of both. He contended that to establish was to encourage, and pointed out the difficulties that would arise from establishing a Church which did not recognize King George as its head. The Premier scouted the fear thus raised, for, he declared, he had it from the law officers of the Crown, that the Catholic bishop of Quebec was subject to the King's supremacy. As the debate proceeded and members realized all the bill would do, those who were military men feared one result would be the reviving of that militia which had ceased with the surrender of Vaudreuil. Binding the priests to King George by privileges dependent upon his will they thought secured to him the services of their parishioners as soldiers. It was an impression which experience at the outbreak of the American revolution showed was erroneous, when the habitants refused to turn out as militiamen for priest or seignior. The reverse was taken for granted, however, and the belief prevailed that the bill would give the King an army irresponsible to parliament. Col. Barre, who had served under Wolfe, and whose figure appears in West's picture as one of those surrounding the dying soldier, with Irish frankness declared the object of the bill was to secure to the King "a Popish army to "serve in the colonies, destroying all hope of peace

“with them, for the Americans will look on the French-Canadians as their task-masters, and, in the end, their executioners. That is the plan of the government, not a man of them denies it; I wash my hands of the bill, I declare my solemn aversion to it.” William Burke, the friend, but not a relative of Edmund, denounced the bill as the worst that ever engaged the attention of parliament, for its object was to establish the Popish religion and French despotism in a conquered Province. All the efforts of the opponents of the bill to make it consonant with the principles of the British constitution, had been defeated. “There will come an hour,” he foretold, “when it will be necessary to testify there was some opposition entered against this mad proceeding.” The objections of the few who realized the grave results that would flow from the bill were finely expressed by Sergeant Glynn and Burke in the closing debate.

The ministry showed no concern over the opposition the bill evoked. Secure in his servile following Lord North, when blocked by the Opposition, called for a division, and the Opposition was easily outvoted. Even when the attendance was barely a seventh of the total, he was secure in a two-third majority. So lightly did the Premier think of the bill, that he once adjourned the debate in order that he might attend a private entertainment. The bill practically passed the Commons as introduced. When it came before the Lords for concurrence in the amendments, Pitt, who had been unable to attend when the bill was being considered, arose from a sick-bed to enter a protest against it as subversive of liberty and opening the door to fresh dangers. It will shake the affections of the King’s subjects on this side of the Atlantic, he declared, and lose to him the hearts of those on the other side. The warning of the statesman who had won Canada, who had rescued England from danger and disgrace, and led her, wherever her flag floated,

triumphant over the forces of the combined Catholic powers of Europe, was unheeded. Only six peers voted with him, and the bill was declared carried by the votes of 26. On hearing of the progress of the bill the trade guilds of the city of London took alarm at the abolition of civil actions, as likely to affect their collection of debts in Canada, and the mayor, heading the council, went to wait on the King to ask that he refuse assent to the bill. That the measure was of his own suggestion, he proved by delaying to receive the deputation on a quibble until he had declared it law. When news of the bill reached the American colonies there was an outcry of indignation. Their people saw the hurt done them by passing the Act, and resented it. Their legislatures adopted resolutions denouncing it in language their descendants care not to acknowledge. Instead of allaying the spirit of disaffection by reviving fear of French domination, it intensified discontent. For a King who would set Catholic against Protestant, French against English, the Americans had less regard than ever. In the declaration of independence the passage of the Quebec Act is made one of the offences of King George's government that justified repudiating his rule.

What were the changes made by this Act which caused so much discussion? The first and second sections define boundaries, the third confirms titles granted for lands, the fourth repeals any provisions in previous ordinances, and the proclamation of 1763, in so far as they may conflict with the Act, the fifth is the vital section, and reads:

“And, for the more perfect security and ease of the
“minds of the inhabitants of the said Province, it is
“hereby declared, That His Majesty's subjects,
“professing the religion of the Church of Rome, of
“and in the said Province of Quebec, may have, hold
“and enjoy the free exercise of the religion of the
“Church of Rome, subject to the King's supremacy,
“declared and established by an Act made in the first

“year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, over all the dominions and countries which then did, or there after should belong, to the Imperial Crown of this realm; and that the clergy of the said Church may hold, receive, and enjoy, their accustomed dues and rights, with respect to such persons only as shall profess the said religion.”

The sixth section provides for the establishment and maintenance of a Protestant clergy, the seventh dispenses with the oath of the days of Elizabeth, in which the claims of the Papacy are renounced, and substitutes one which simply promises true allegiance. The eighth runs thus:

“That all His Majesty’s Canadian subjects within the Province of Quebec, the religious orders and communities only excepted, may also hold and enjoy their property and possessions, together with all customs and usages thereto, and all other civil rights . . . as may consist with their allegiance to His Majesty, and subjection to the Crown and parliament of Great Britain; and that in the matters of controversy, relative to property and civil rights, resort shall be had to the laws of Canada, as the rule for the decision for the same.”

Section ten extends this by including all moveables which may be given or bequeathed either according to the laws of Canada or of England. Eleven establishes English criminal law. The remaining sections provide for the constituting of a council to assist in governing the Province, levying taxes, and other executive matters.

The two important sections are five and eight. On analyzing five, it will be seen it gives the power to the priests to compel their people to pay tithes and taxes to build and maintain churches, and nothing more. The section does not recognize the Catholic Church as an established church, nor confer upon it any of the attributes of an established church, beyond giving priests the help of the law to secure support from

their parishioners. Section eight is peculiar in its wording. Literally interpreted, it placed the Province under the laws then in existence in Canada, which were those of England. The phrase "laws of Canada" was dictated by pride, to avoid specifying the laws of France. The intention of the framer of the Act was the guide to those who administered it. It was made clear, however, that the restoration of French law was not to extend to all the Province, but to be confined to the seigniories. Section nine reads:

"Provided, always, that nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend to any lands that have been granted by His Majesty, or shall hereafter be granted by His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to be holden in free and common soccage."

The importance has not been attached to this section that it deserves, for it confines the application of sections 5 and 8 to an extremely limited area. When the bill was passed the only land in the Province that had not been granted in free and common soccage was the seigniories, which formed a fringe along the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu, some ten miles deep. Outside that narrow fringe, sections 5 and 8 did not apply. The Act of 1774 amounted then to this, that in the seigniories French civil law was restored and the priests could collect tithes and dues. Outside the seigniories the law remained as fixed by the proclamation of 1763. The Act is invariably spoken of by French commentators as applying to the entire Province of Quebec. Section 9 places beyond controversy that its re-enactment of French law was confined solely to the parishes then in existence, an insignificant portion of the Province.

Of the practical effect of the changes made we have an official and authentic estimate by the ministry who submitted the Quebec Act. It received the royal sanction on June 22nd, 1774. Six months afterwards

Sir Guy Carleton was appointed governor of Quebec. The royal instructions he received for himself and the council that was to be formed were exceedingly voluminous. After pointing out the discrimination to be exercised in allowing the French "the benefit and use "of their own laws, usages and customs" in regard to real estate and descent, the new council is admonished to consider well in framing its ordinances "whether "the laws of England may not be, if not altogether, "at least in part, the rule for decision in all cases" of a commercial nature. The instructions as to religion shatter the pretence that the Quebec Act made the Catholic Church an established church. Governor Carleton is enjoined to recognize no such pretension, but to keep the bishop and priests under his control, and to prevent their exercising their clerical functions until they had received his license. The value of the Act of 1774 to the priests lies not so much in what it conceded, as in making an opening for further demands. Once granted that they should have exceptional privileges, demand was piled upon demand as opportunity presented itself, each demand as conceded forming an excuse for asking more and urged as a reason for legislators giving what was asked. It is the old fable of first a finger, then an arm, ending in the whole body.

This chapter has been unduly extended by giving the text of quotations instead of summarizing them. This was necessary in view of the fact that when any proposal is made to assimilate Quebec with the other Provinces of the Dominion in law and administration, it is met with the declaration that the proposal conflicts with the "guaranteed rights" of Quebec. In daily conversation, from the platform, on the floor of parliament, from the judicial bench, from the pulpit, changes have been declared not possible on this score, and the idea has been propagated that the French language, French laws, and the plenitude of power enjoyed by the priests were pledged by a solemn treaty,

with which parliament dare not interfere. In examining into whether this be so, it was necessary to quote literally. And what has been the result? First, that neither the treaty nor any of the imperial documents has a single word about the French language. The assertion that its official use was guaranteed has not a tittle of evidence to rest upon: it is a pure fabrication. Nowhere in the treaty or the documents it is based upon is the French language even mentioned. Second, this is also true as to French laws. The treaty not only makes no reference, however indirectly, to such laws, but by the fourth article transferred the inhabitants of Quebec to the British Crown without restriction. Third, as to religion. The treaty merely guaranteed that toleration Catholics would have received without specification. Then, following the treaty, King George issued a proclamation, in which he assured all who went to Quebec "may confide in "our royal protection for the enjoyment of the benefit "of the laws of our realm of England." In instructing its first governor, Murray, how he was to rule the Province, the King enjoins him that, while giving such scope as the laws of England allowed to his Roman Catholic subjects, he was not to admit the jurisdiction of Rome. This measure of toleration was recognized as all that could be expected under the treaty, and no complaint was made by those affected or by the French Government that Article Four was not observed.

Privileges granted by legislation stand upon a different base from those secured by an international treaty. When by treaty, they can only be withdrawn with the consent of the contracting nation. If granted by legislation, they can be dealt with like any other statute. Were the consent of France needed to strip the priests in Quebec of the immunities and powers they enjoy, that government would exultingly give it. That consent is not required, for those immunities and powers are not of treaty but of legislation, and what legislation gave legislation can take away. The

Dominion Parliament is competent to deal with the Quebec Act, or any other statute that affects the interests of the people. To the priests the Act of Parliament of 1774 gave them power to collect tithes and fabrique taxes in the eighty-two parishes then in existence, and nothing more. Outside those parishes they were given no exceptional rights. The instructions to the governor who was to administer the Act, inform him the concession does not imply the Church of Rome in Quebec is an established church, and he is forbidden to recognize its episcopal powers. Finally, the Act, while restoring French law and usage, does not do so in the Province at large, but only in that small portion of it held under seigniorial tenure, and that only for a time, for the council is admonished by the King to bring that law, as opportunity presented, into harmony with English law.

The French-Canadian has no treaty rights, but he has what is higher than any the King of his forefathers could have demanded for him—the rights of a British subject, and these alone. The Church of Rome in Quebec has no treaty rights, and nothing beyond what statutes have bestowed. Her peculiar privileges, so injurious to those outside her pale, so threatening to the peace of the Dominion, were obtained piecemeal, and at wide intervals, by legislation. At any time, by the will of the majority of the electors of the Dominion, whatever is contrary to the public weal in the laws of the Province of Quebec, can be annulled by legislation.

Why the advisers of George III. did not continue Canada as a Crown colony has not been satisfactorily explained. Probably some one, who has access to the state papers of the period, may think it worth his while to unveil the causes that led to giving Canada a constitutional government long before it had a population fitted for self-government. The explanation, repeated parrot-like in so many histories, that it was done to secure the goodwill of the French-Canadians, in the

impending struggle with the American colonies, is absurd on the face of it. When the Quebec Act was submitted, the Imperial Government was blind to the coming danger across the Atlantic, and was resting in full security. In the long debates in the House of Commons, there is not a single sentence, either from the Ministerial or Opposition benches, to indicate that the bill was of a precautionary nature—a prudent step to take on the eve of a struggle. That is neither the tone nor the language of the debaters. There was neither foresight nor wisdom in the passing of the Quebec Act, for it failed to make friends of the French-Canadians, it disgusted the handful of English who had settled in Quebec, and formed a new cause of complaint to those of the Americans who were discontented with British rule.

CHAPTER IV.

Re-appearance of Anti-British Feeling

War being the greatest of all violations of natural law, it follows that the penalty which befalls the nations which have crossed swords must be in proportion. Earthquake and volcanic irruption, flood and drouth, famine and epidemic, are each of terrifying significance to a nation, yet the consequences of all these combined are not comparable to the woes that war lets loose. And there is this peculiarity about them, that long after the cause, indeed, often when the war from which they arose has passed from memory, the woes remain. The loss of Canada to France is directly traceable to the bloodthirsty spirit of its founders. They aimed at a military colony, with every man a soldier, and it was by flourishing the sword in the face of their neighbors New France provoked its fate. Had they kept by spade and plough the colony would have lived and flourished. The overthrow of the power of France in America is referred to by those of English speech with exultation, and Wolfe's victory is quoted as something inspiring. Yet it is writ plain on the page of history that the conquest of Canada was a blunder—a presage to the greatest disaster that ever befell the British nation and the Anglo-Saxon race. Had the consequences of the battle of the Plains of Abraham been foretold by

one of the Highlanders who won it, claiming second sight, the news of the victory would have been received wherever English is spoken with lamentation. It was the conquest of Canada that made the American revolution possible. Had there been no conquest, a peaceable separation of the thirteen colonies from the Mother Country would have come in time. It was the winning of Canada that suggested to the Americans an immediate demand for separation; it was the possession of Canada that determined King George to resist. The exciting cause of the American revolution sprung from the conquest—the demand by the King that the colonies should pay part of the cost of a war he had waged at their instance and in their interest. It was the conquest that precipitated separation and bloodshed, giving birth to a spirit of hatred and jealousy on the part of the Americans which has often thwarted Britain's purposes and encouraged her enemies. Worse than that, it ranged those who speak the same language and profess the same faith in open antagonism. The false patriotism of militarism glories over Wolfe's crowning achievement; true patriotism, the offspring of the love of humanity, cannot. The Canadian patriot sees in that victory the origin of the dangers that threaten his country—the continuance of institutions irreconcilable with freedom. The progress of events would have decided the destiny of Canada without wager of battle. A generation later its separation from France would have been inevitable. How differently would Quebec have entered into an English alliance had the step been taken after the downfall of the Bourbons? In that case the Church of Rome would have been disestablished by her own members, the effete institutions which France had fastened upon Canada would have been flung aside by those who suffered from them. The people aroused from the torpor of absolutism would have welcomed partnership with their English neighbors as co-equals,

as allies and brothers in the cause of freedom. Let it be set down as a self-apparent fact, that Wolfe's victory preserved in the New World what the Old World soon afterwards destroyed—the clerical and temporal institutions of feudal France. The France that died at the taking of the Bastille, and which disappeared from the banks of the Seine, was spared on the Plains of Abraham and survives to-day on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

Under any circumstances the conquest of a country is the greatest misfortune that can befall the conqueror. The world is so ordered, that each nationality can only be content when self-governed. The imposing of rule by outsiders arouses a spirit of antagonism that appeals to every man who has felt the glow of patriotism. That the rule of the stranger is better than that it superseded does not change the attitude of the beaten people. They are foreign laws imposed by force. To the French-Canadians the rule of the English was the more obnoxious that it was that of new-comers who differed from them in language and creed. In General Murray and his officers they saw not only their hereditary enemies, but men whom they had been taught from infancy to regard as heretics. That Murray was considerate of their needs and tolerant of their prejudices, that he had changed their government for the better, given them a security they had never known, released them from burdens of taxation and service that had ground them to the dust, went for little. The weakness induced by the exhaustion of a long war compelled them to submit, but there was nothing to evoke their love. That they would yet see the stranger driven forth by the power of France was their hope. Remarkable to relate, there was not the slightest move by the British towards assimilation, no effort made to induce settlers either from the American colonies or from the Mother Land, and the habitants, prospering as they never had done, went on increasing, forming a solid body of people impervi-

ous to British ideas of civil and religious liberty. Had the Government of George III. said plainly, that, as by the treaty of peace, France had relinquished all claim to Canada, they would treat it as a part of Britain and endeavor to make it British in deed as well as name, there would have been ground to believe that each succeeding generation would have become more and more attached to Britain. Instead, the Canadians from the first were treated with distrust, the attitude of the governing class being that we witness to-day in Egypt and India. The possibility of their rising in revolt was the spectre that haunted each successive governor, and caused the maintenance of garrisons obnoxious to the inhabitants and burdensome to the British taxpayer. Canada was rich beyond the wildest imagination in natural resources, yet instead of developing them by encouraging emigration from the United Kingdom, where hundreds of thousands lived in penury, the government forbade the settlement of the lands that awaited the hand of man to burst into abundance. The policy of conquerors in all ages, to plant in the countries they subdued settlements of people upon whose allegiance they could rely, the British rulers ignored. But they went further. With a fatuity past comprehension, they not only took pains to prevent English settlers coming to Quebec, but restored to the people whom they guarded against such intrusion, the distinctive features of the French regime. By a sweep of his pen George III. wiped out English jurisprudence and restored the laws of the Kings of France, and fastened anew on the people the parish system. The latter was restored under conditions the French Kings would not have listened to. When they gave the priest power to tax and tithe, he was held accountable to the Crown for the way in which he used the privileges, there was appeal by the parishioners to intendant and governor. It was extraordinary powers exercised by priests at the will of an arbitrary monarch, who, as he saw fit, curbed and sus-

pended. Under the French regime the parish system, resting upon the will of an arbitrary ruler, could be modified or repealed at his whim; under British rule it was given the authority of a statute and was re-established in a way that has left the priest irresponsible to the courts. It is important to grasp all that is here implied. The Imperial Parliament, by the Quebec Act, gave the priest power to levy taxes to build and maintain church and parsonage, and to provide his salary, and to use the secular courts to collect these taxes, yet exempted him from accountability to the government or to the courts. On a select body of men was bestowed the privilege of using the courts, which means the authority of the Crown, to collect taxes without responsibility either to Crown or court as to giving account of the services rendered for the money so levied. What Bishop Laval sought, but could not get from Louis XIV., an ecclesiastical system independent of the state, yet using the state as its servant, George III., while pluming himself on his Protestantism, was the cause of enabling the priests to get in his new domain. What was the gratitude of the priests towards King George? For a quarter of a century after the battle of the Plains of Abraham the expectation was strong that France would speedily recapture Canada: that it was only a matter of a few years when the Union Jack would be hauled down. Possessed of this conviction the clergy exerted themselves to keep their people from learning their speech, by declaring English to be a Protestant language. The expedients of that time to keep the French habitants a separate people are still in use.

When the last regiment that wore the uniform of Louis XV. marched on board a transport at Quebec to be conveyed to France, the brake was snapped that had kept the discontented portion of the inhabitants of the American colonies from going to extremes in their disputes with Britain. No longer afraid of French assaults on their borders, no longer in need of the help

of King George's soldiers and ships to protect them from French invasions by land or sea, they rapidly developed their design of separation from the Motherland. Tidings of what was going on to the south of them, filtered slowly into the settlements on the St. Lawrence. Getting his news by way of Halifax the governor, Carleton, knew in the fall of 1774 a congress, sitting at Boston, had decided on an ultimatum that meant war. Carleton, like all other military men, scouted the idea of the colonists making good their threat, believing their first brush with the King's troops would bring them to their senses. This belief was so general that the danger of war was not taken seriously until the battle of Bunker Hill. Before adjourning, the Boston Congress adopted an address to the inhabitants of Quebec inviting their co-operation. Of this address 2,000 copies were printed, and during the winter agents crossed from Massachusetts and New York State, circulating copies and trying by house-to-house canvass to win adherents. Not one in ten thousand could read the address, and those who might have spelled it out were repelled by its length and involved sentences. More effective were the personal visits, helped by the presence in Montreal of a knot of American traders, and the report was set afoot among the habitants that the Quebec Act, instead of being in their favor, was really designed to put them back under their seigniors as in the days of New France, and that they would have to respond to their call to serve in the militia. Carleton appealed to Bishop Briand to counteract the intrigue. The Bishop, as the correspondence in his biography shows, was convinced the Americans would be beaten, but, from the existing condition of affairs, many concessions might be obtained from Britain for his church. The Bishop, therefore, complied with Carleton's request and issued a letter to the priests to refuse the sacraments to sympathizers with the American rebels. The letter, before the summer of 1775 was over, was proved to be blank cartridge.

The priests were neutral, watchful alone of their own interests.

United States historians pass over lightly the attempt to get possession of Canada, treating it as an incidental episode in the war, which it was not, for it was a serious movement, planned by Washington and earnestly backed by Congress. It was not alone the danger of invasion from the north they sought to prevent, but to make sure that they would not have again on their frontier a hostile power. The passing of the Quebec Act seemed to the leaders of the revolution to restore the situation that had existed from the days of Champlain. They declared they foresaw in the restoration of the French power under the protectorate of the British Crown, a revival of the contest for the possession of the continent, with savage raids on their settlements, such as Frontenac and Montcalm planned. The winning of Canada looked to them as essential to the existence of the new Republic. Washington declared the annexation of Canada to be of the utmost importance, and that this view was that of those who with him were directing affairs, was shown by their detaching, at a critical period, so important a personage as Benjamin Franklin to try and conciliate the French, for the Americans approached the task of winning Canada in two ways—by force of arms and by diplomacy.

The easiest way to invade the Province was by Lake Champlain, and the sentinel forts that guarded the southern end, Ticonderoga and Crown Point, were captured without difficulty, for their garrisons were mere corporal guards—old men left to preserve the fortifications from decay. Having obtained command of the lake, the Americans speedily appeared in the parishes at its head. Carleton hastened from Quebec with what troops he could gather to cover Montreal. His forces were ridiculously inadequate. To guard all Canada he had only two regiments, little over 800 men. If the habitants sided with the invaders he foresaw

disaster, but, confident in their sympathy, he issued the call for the enrollment of the militia and had 6,000 muskets ready to arm them.

It is remarkable that although the history of Canada goes back only some three centuries, and is therefore comparatively modern, and that of every decade, whether under French or English rule, we have voluminous official records, it should abound in myths. Perhaps the myth which is the most direct perversion of fact is that which represents the saving of Canada to the British Crown during the American revolution as due to the devotion of the priests and the loyalty of the habitants. Hundreds of orators, amid thunders of applause, have drawn the picture of Canada cruelly abandoned by France and dominated by a British garrison, yet, when threatened by American invaders, the habitants, urged by their beloved pastors, rallied for the defence of their new master. What are the facts as presented in the despatches of Governor-General Carleton, his successor, Haldimand, and of other officials? They reveal a peasantry who loved neither the Republican nor the Loyalist, and who, on being asked by priest and seignior to join the militia, were seized with dread that the old absolutism of the priest and the hated rule of the seignior under the French regime were to be restored. The call to arms they would not listen to, and where a seignior attempted to coerce them into the ranks they resisted with force, and gave him to understand they were no longer vassals. The feudal duties of corvee and military service had vanished before the roll of Wolfe's drums. No effort was spared to raise the militia, but all was in vain. Carleton then turned to the Indians, and was again disappointed. Seeing the habitants refused to fight, the Indians cared not to go on the warpath. The governor buoyed himself with the hope that if the habitants would not fight the Americans, they would not help them. Without the assistance of the habitants they could not cross the St. Lawrence, and so

he considered his position on the north shore secure. He was speedily undeceived. In September, 1775, St. Johns was taken. The invaders divided, one column descending the Richelieu to Sorel: the main body struck for Montreal. The habitants, impulsive and excitable, were carried away by the imposing strength of the Americans, and the fine speeches of their compatriots, who accompanied the strangers. From a state of indifference they went to the other extreme, were seized by a frenzy of excitement, welcomed the invaders, sold them provisions, supplied them with guides, brought them intelligence of what the British were doing. Carleton tried to make a stand at Longueuil, was discomfited, and escaped with his little army to Montreal. He still cherished the hope that the Americans would not be able to cross the river for want of boats. There was delay, and he thought he was correct in his surmise. The delay was in collecting boats. In an agony of disappointment Carleton saw the habitants ferry the Americans over to besiege him. Montreal was still surrounded by the wall of the French period, and although he had only sixty soldiers, eighty sailors, and a handful of English-speaking militiamen, Carleton resolved to hold it, for he had cannon, while the enemy so far had only rifles. He soon realized his position was untenable from what he termed the treachery of the French, who cut off his supply parties and captured his messengers. He complained bitterly. The disobedience of the people increased, they everywhere helped the Americans, while the King's representatives were betrayed. A messenger, who had eluded the enemy, brought word Sorel was in the hands of the Americans, and that a thousand Frenchmen had joined their ranks. The language in which he speaks of the habitants is that of a man who had been deceived. He had been instrumental in carrying the Quebec Act in the belief its concessions would reconcile them to British rule, and was now mortified to find this very Act used by the Americans as a reason why

the French should join them. In his despatches to England Carleton refers to the baseness of the habitants, their ingratitude for all the favors shown them; as a wretched people blind to honor. He had his eyes opened on another point. He saw the habitants really hated the seigniors, and regretted he had not asked them to enlist in regular regiments instead of using the old militia machinery of France. While waiting to be attacked by the Americans, an alarming despatch reached him. An American army had threaded the wilds of Maine, and unexpectedly appeared on the opposite shore to Quebec. Carleton realized that prompt action was needed. With traitors within and without the walls, to defend Montreal was going to be difficult, but of what use would it be to hold it should Quebec be lost? Quebec was the key of Canada, and must be saved. On the night of the 11th of November he embarked his little garrison in boats, abandoning Montreal, whose inhabitants threw open its gates and welcomed the Americans the following day. Running the gauntlet of batteries at Berthier and Sorel, Carleton reached Quebec in a rowboat on the 19th, and none too soon. As at Montreal, the Americans had been given every assistance by the habitants, and had been ferried across the St. Lawrence by them. They were now in camp, within striking distance of Quebec, awaiting the reinforcements they knew were on the way. Carleton used the breathing-spell to complete his defences. On the 4th of December, the American army being now in full strength, he was summoned to surrender. Carleton's reply was he would not parley with rebels, and the siege began. The Americans had the advantage in numbers, led by able officers, and in having the people of the country with them. Carleton's sole advantage lay in the fortifications, which he had barely enough men to cover. Assaults by day and night were made and stoutly repulsed; worse than these open attacks were the machinations of traitors within the walls to betray

the garrison. On New Year's Eve the Americans had arranged for a midnight attack, which resulted in their disastrous repulse. The spot where one of their generals, Montgomery, paid his life for his temerity, is recorded on the cliff at the foot of which he fell. This disaster to the Americans had an immediate effect on the habitants, shaking their belief that they were going to win, and hastened the revulsion of feeling that was already working in their minds. For several weeks their enthusiasm for their American visitors had been waning, and this British victory hastened the change. The continental army was leavened with ruffians, who repeated on whoever was suspected to favor the British the outrages they had practised on the loyalists of New England, while between the United States commissary officer who cleaned out his barnyard and handed in payment paper scrip, and the British officials who had always paid in gold, the habitant drew comparisons, and to edge back to the side of the British.

To the besieged garrison the weary winter crept on, and during those five months the only spot in Canada where the Union Jack floated was from Cape Diamond. Both sides of the river were in the undisputed possession of the Americans, with their headquarters in Montreal, where they raised a regiment of French-Canadians. Arnold enlisted another regiment at Quebec, and reported he would have taken more had he been able to equip them. A third regiment was embodied at Sorel under American colors. General Schuyler wrote from Montreal to his chief: "I can have as many Canadians as I know how to maintain." At Three Rivers there was no difficulty in raising 500 rank and file and in getting thirty of the better class to accept the commissions of Congress to command them. During that winter of 1775-76, when the Province of Quebec was practically a State of the Union, we hear not a word of the promise by Bishop Briand that the priests would refuse the sacraments to whoever aided the invaders. All the Americans needed to

complete their conquest of Canada was the capture of the Citadel of Quebec. Each week that drew spring nearer increased the difficulties of the Americans to win that little spot. The Canadians who had so effusively welcomed them were cooling in their ardor as they foresaw the possibility of Quebec holding out until the British fleet came, which would ensure the failure of the invasion. The Americans were quick to note the change of tone. Reporting to Congress as to how matters stood, General Wooster wrote: "There is little confidence to be placed in the Canadians, they are fond of being of the strongest party." When the St. Lawrence at last cast its coat of ice the little garrison was faced with a prospect of famine, and Carleton foresaw that unless ships speedily arrived from England Canada was lost to the British. The Americans redoubled their efforts. Their batteries were planted nearer, occasionally throwing hot shot in order to set fire to the barracks of the little garrison, who responded shot for shot. Perched on the point of the cliff, where the St. Lawrence unexpectedly expands from a river into an ever-widening sea, sentinelled by forest-clad mountains, the defenders, from earliest dawn turned eager eyes down the vistas of the two channels formed by the Isle of Orleans for the long-delayed relief, and day after day sought repose when night came with the sickness of deferred hope. On the morning of the 6th of May a shout went up that three sail were in sight, and when, on drawing nearer, the red flag of their country was discerned flying from the foremast of the leading ship, strong men broke down from the reaction of the suspense of five months, and with tears and shouts of joy grasped each others hands. No sooner had the ships cast anchor than boats were lowered and the landing of troops began. The hour of remaining on the defensive had passed. Ordering the long-closed gates to be thrown open, at the head of the garrison and of the newly arrived soldiers, Carleton at noon marched out to give battle to

the Americans. It was too late. They had spied the ships, too, and at once began their retreat, abandoning cannons and stores. All Carleton could do was to convert their retreat into a rout, pursuing them until they crossed the St. Lawrence.

For nigh a year the Americans were on Canadian soil; six months in undisputed possession of every part except the few acres enclosed within the fortifications of Quebec. Why, then, did Canada not continue to be part of the American Republic? Because it had a governor with the head to plan and the hand to carry out his plans. Had Carleton surrendered when surrounded at Montreal, the Stars and Stripes would be floating to-day over Canada. It is to his daring flight to Quebec, to his placing its fortifications in a posture of defence, to his dogged courage in defending them under every form of discouragement for five cold, dreary months, that the maintenance of British possession is due. It may be said, it was the arrival of the British fleet in the spring that saved Canada. It is true, had not help come when it did, the Americans would have triumphed, but it is equally true that had Carleton not kept a foothold on Cape Diamond, the one spot in a vast territory that had not surrendered to the enemy, the coming of British reinforcements in the spring of 1776 would have been of no avail. With the fortifications of Quebec in his possession, General Thomas could have prevented the British fleet passing the Cape and the landing of the troops it carried. It was Carleton who saved Canada in 1776, and whoever says otherwise denies the honor that is his due. Priest, seignior, and habitant had knuckled to the American Republicans; it was Carleton and his little garrison who defeated their plans.

The end was not yet, however. At their headquarters in Montreal, the Americans had been busy all winter in trying to strengthen their foothold. Congress had sent a delegation, which included Benjamin Franklin, to win over the Canadians. The very men who

two years before formally protested against the Quebec Act in language so outrageous that their descendants try to ignore it, the Congress that had been unable to suppress "astonishment that a British parliament "should ever consent to establish in Canada a religion "that has deluged its island with blood, and dispersed "impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion "through every part of the world," now sent a Jesuit, Father John Carroll, whose special duty was to win over the priests, with the promise that the American Congress would do more for their church than Britain had done! He could not get the priests to declare themselves. They discriminated in a way we do not now realize between the British across the Atlantic and the Bostonians. Under the latter name they classed all the settlers of the colonies south of Canada, and hated them with a perfect hatred, the Dutchman equally with the Puritan. For generations they had encouraged war being waged upon them, and had held them up to their people as frightful examples of heresy. Were they now going to exchange the rule of the Imperial Government, little as it was to their mind, for that of the new Republic created by their life-long enemies? They temporized with both sides, waiting to see who was going to win.

On hearing war ships were on the way to Montreal, the Americans withdrew to above the Lachine rapids, thus prolonging their stay a few months. With their final departure the danger of Quebec did not end. When France, in 1778, espoused the cause of the revolutionists, sending an army and a fleet to assist them, the peril to Canada took another shape. The French-Canadians became excited on hearing their Mother Country had taken the side of the Americans. Haldimand, who was now governor, apprehended the worst, especially when he heard of the circulation of a report that the Pope had absolved the Canadians from the oath of allegiance they had taken to King George. "If," Haldimand writes to England, "the Americans

“invade the Province with a few hundred French soldiers, the Canadians will take up arms in their favor, “will serve as guides and furnish provisions.” Detecting one priest communicating with the enemy he deported all who were natives of France, and asked the home government to replace them by priests from Savoy. In June, 1779, when it was known a second invasion of Canada was planned, he wrote that any misfortune to the British defenders would raise the whole country for the Americans. In September he again deplores the leaning not only of the habitants but of the priests towards France, and said at the appearance of French soldiers with the Americans, they would throw themselves into their arms. The ingratitude of the seigniors was a grief to him. In 1781 he reports to the Imperial authorities that the success of the French fleet and the surrender of Cornwallis had made the Canadians bold. To the suggestion that he enlist them he replies, “I cannot trust them with arms “for the defence of the Province, as it would be dangerous.” Difficulty in dealing with the priests again plagued him. Two he shipped to France. Even the conduct of the superior of the Seminary was unsatisfactory, and the governor’s conviction was, that “the “attachment of the priests to France will engage them “in the interests of the rebels.” What need of quoting more from the despatches of the men who guided Canada’s destinies during that critical time? The assertion that it was the priests who preserved our country to the British Empire during the American revolution, is a deliberate and complete perversion of the truth. Had the French fleet steered from Yorktown for Quebec the figment that it was the priests who kept Canada to Britain during the American revolution would have been exploded.

During a debate at Ottawa, in the Commons, on the 30th of April, 1908, the Hon. L. P. Brodeur, Minister of Marine, in extolling his compatriots, said:

“We are glad to serve under the British Crown to

“which we are devoted. And when at different times
“in our history British connection was in danger it
“was the French-Canadians who were there to defend
“the British Crown. Who in 1775 stood up in defence
“of the British Crown if not the French-Canadians?
“Who in 1812 fought the battle of Chateauguay and
“repulsed the American troops, if not the French-
“Canadians?”

Of such are the fictions by which Quebec's claims for special privileges are supported. The evidence is beyond controversy that the French-Canadians in 1775 rose in revolt when it was attempted to enroll them to fight the Americans, that when, in 1776, the Americans came they fraternized with them, gave them the help and supplies without which they could not have come to the gates of Quebec and Montreal, and finally, several thousand of them took the oath of allegiance to the new Republic, and were enrolled as soldiers under its flag. A year after his sore experience in repulsing the American invasion, when he had time to deliberately review the past, Governor Carleton wrote the Colonial Secretary in London: “As to my opinion of the Canadians, I think there is
“nothing to fear from them while we (the British),
“are in a state of prosperity, and nothing to hope for
“when in distress.”

Touching Mr. Brodeur's reference to Chateauguay, it is open to question whether it is correct to call it a battle, seeing the killed on both sides counted less than fifty. It was a mere skirmish. The facts are these: The Americans had planned an invasion of Canada by way of Montreal. The grand army of the north, as it was named, was divided into two columns. One, under Wilkinson, was to build flat-boats at Oswego, and, embarking in them, sail down the St. Lawrence. At some point on its south bank, facing the island of Montreal, they were to find the other half of the army, under General Hampton, whom they were to take into their boats and then

make for Lachine. The success of the plan depended on the two divisions meeting at the right time. Wilkinson bungled his part, frittering away the season, always about to leave with his flotilla of boats down the St. Lawrence, and never starting. At the beginning of October Hampton was ordered to break camp and march to the St. Lawrence. At the point where the river Chateauguay flows into the St. Lawrence he was advised he would find Wilkinson with the boats. Hampton crossed the line into Canada, and, capturing outlying posts, reached a point within fifteen miles of where Wilkinson was to be waiting for him. His way was here blocked by rude entrenchments thrown up on the north bank of six successive ravines which crossed the road he must follow. These breastworks, formed of trees that had been felled, were defended by militia, Indians, and a battery of artillery, the whole under command of General de Watteville. Spies had brought Hampton complete information of the nature and strength of the obstructions, and he had guides, both French-Canadian and American, who knew every inch of the country. On the afternoon of the 26th of October he began his advance. At the first breastwork he halted, waiting for the appearance of a column on the east bank of the river which he had sent to make a flank attack. Through the skill of Major Macdonell, that flank movement had failed, a fact of which Hampton was ignorant until the day, cloudy and gloomy, was nigh spent. Darkness setting in, he ordered the army to return to their tents, intending to resume operations next morning by bringing up his artillery to shatter the obstructing breastworks. On reaching camp he found a messenger with a despatch from Ogdensburg, reporting that Wilkinson had not moved. He was astounded, for he supposed if not at, he must be near, Chateauguay Basin. There was no use in Hampton going farther. He could not cross the St. Lawrence to the island of Montreal

without the boats Wilkinson was to bring, and there were no supplies to feed his army should he go into camp at Chateauguay Basin and wait his coming. A council was held when the commanding officers unanimously agreed there was no alternative other than to return to their camp on the American side. On the 28th tents were struck and Hampton, by slow marches and without annoyance, returned to the camp at Four Corners to await developments. It was no resistance he met, no bugle-blowing in the woods or flourishing of swords behind abattis, that caused Hampton to go back the way he came, but Wilkinson's failure to appear at the trysting-place. Subsequent events justified Hampton, for a fortnight elapsed after he left the Chateauguay before Wilkinson began his descent of the St. Lawrence, and even had all gone well with him he could not have reached the Basin, the place where Hampton was to be in waiting, before the third week in November, a date when floating ice stops sailing on the St. Lawrence, and frost makes living in tents impossible.

While the conquest of Canada made the American revolution possible, that revolution was the unlooked-for cause of preventing Canada reverting to what it was under France. Left under the conditions of the Quebec Act, and the policy that prevented immigration, it would have become a Papal preserve, expanding with increase of population. What changed that fate was the abrupt rush of a host of fleeing men, women, and children seeking refuge beneath its forests from the hate and cruelty of the victorious Republicans. The coming of the United Empire Loyalists saved all of Canada west of the Ottawa from the doom that has overtaken Quebec. These new-comers were energetic and the appearance of a chain of settlements on the banks of the Upper St. Lawrence and along the north shore of Lake Ontario compelled the home authorities not only to provide for their maintenance, but also to give them some form of govern-

ment. Here, again, in framing a constitution to meet the new conditions forced upon them, they blundered. They knew these people who had fled from the tyranny of the new Republic would not submit to the conditions of the Quebec Act, and that something different was required. Instead of repealing that Act and devising a constitution that would give, French or English, all they could expect, and so keep Canada a unit, they decided to divide Canada into two Provinces—one French and the other English. So far as practicable, the policy of segregation, of two laws, and two systems of administration, was to be tried. This is the policy which, half a century afterwards, Lord Durham deplored and endeavored to correct. It was too late, the evil was not in his day to be remedied; and the union that would have succeeded in 1791 failed in 1841. Pitt professed to see in the arrangement of two Provinces a means of averting strife between French and English, for each would have their own Province and their own legislature. In this Fox did not concur. Instead of providing for the separation of the two races, he urged, it was "desirable they should colasce into one body, and that the different distinctions be extinguished." Outside the official circle, the bill was opposed by the entire English population of Quebec. They were few, to be sure, and because they were few were the more solicitous there should be no division into two Provinces. One of their number, Adam Lymburner, was deputed to appear in London and represent their views. He was given a hearing at the bar of the House of Commons, and read an intolerably tedious protest against the proposed measure. Amid his cloud of inconsecutive sentences he made one point clear, that the English settlers desired the repeal of the Quebec Act in toto and a new constitution for the whole country, which would recognize no distinctions as to race or creed; to use his own words, "a new and complete constitution, unclogged and unembarrassed with any

“laws prior to” the conquest. He spoke to the wind. The bill erecting two Provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, was passed, and another step taken in perpetuating the French regime under the British flag.

The Canada Act provided for a modified system of self-government. There was to be a Lower House, whose members were to be elected by the people, and a council composed of Crown nominees. The device was a compromise between self-government and autocratic rule. A remarkable feature of the Act, and of which slight notice has been taken in any of our histories, is its making the Church of England the Established Church of both Provinces. After declaring that the provision in the Act of 1774, ordering “that the clergy of the Church of Rome in the Province of Quebec might hold, receive, and enjoy their accustomed dues” from their members, the Act authorized the Governor-in-Council to erect Church of England rectories within every township, or parish, of Lower Canada, and to pay the rectors’ salaries out of the waste lands to be allotted for that purpose, or from any tithes that may be collected. The Governor-in-Council was to have the presentation to these rectories under the same conditions as exist in England. To prevent any obstacle being placed in the way of carrying out these provisions by the Assembly, it was provided that any Act of the legislature regarding them must be submitted to the Imperial Parliament before receiving the royal assent. The object of this clause, and of the one confining the constituting of and presenting to rectories to the governor, is obvious—to block any attempt by the French-Canadian members of the Assembly to carrying out the purpose of the Act. One-third of the Act is devoted to the constituting of the Church of England as the Established Church. It would be correct to describe the Act as one establishing a modified system of self-government and the Church of England in Canada,

and the Act furnishes incontrovertible evidence that, a generation after the conquest, the home government regarded the Church of Rome in Quebec as an alien organization, having no inherent rights, and none beyond those it had conferred upon it, with a declared intention of making the Church of England the Church of Quebec. That the purpose of the Act failed does not affect the proof it supplies of the legal standing of the Church of Rome in Quebec in 1791, or of the intention at that date of the government.

The Act was a failure in more regards than its provision to establish the Church of England. Its device to rule by means of an assembly elected by the people, and a council nominated by the Crown, the council having a veto on the acts of the assembly, was foredoomed, for it could not work. The one was democratic, the presumed mouthpiece of the people, the other autocratic, representing the governor and his advisers. It was inevitable the two should clash, especially in Quebec, where the assembly was French and the council English. Ere long they were openly antagonistic. In Upper Canada the cause of strife was constitutional; in Lower Canada, where only a handful of educated men knew anything of constitutional government, the cause was race. In Upper Canada, the members of the council were largely of the class who had been Crown officials in the thirteen colonies, and who brought with them to Canada their ideas of privileges, fees, and nepotism, and who treated the members of the Lower House as inferiors tinged with republican notions of equality, and who needed the firm hand of a master. That with the growth of the country there should be a revolt against the assumptions of such a petty oligarchy was to be expected. Conditions were entirely different in Quebec. To the habitant the proposal of an approach towards self-government was an entire novelty, something he could not comprehend. In no regard had the French Kings been so exacting as in seeing that the people

should have no voice in public affairs—their duty was to submit, that of the King alone to govern. The instructions from France to successive governors give ample proof. To so great an extreme was this spirit of absolutism carried, that, as already noted, the people were denied a voice even in municipal matters. When Frontenac summoned a municipal council in the church of the Jesuits at Quebec, he was not only censured by the King, but advised to see that the town councillors be appointed by the Crown and not by the citizens of Quebec. The instruction, sent in 1685, “It is of very great consequence that the people should not be left at liberty to speak their minds,” was carried into every domain—that of Church, parish and State. Thus trained for generations, the habitant had come to look for the governance of everything outside his farm being conducted by those who claimed to be set above him, and anything approaching the right of free speech, free assembly, and free action was an undreamt of novelty. Of voting he knew nothing, and did not take kindly to the innovation. When called upon to vote for a representative in the Assembly, he had his suspicions that it was a trap to do him harm. The farmers of whole parishes refused to vote, and in others the feeling was carried to the extent of forcibly preventing those who wished. However elected, legally or not, members reported from each county. They were, apart from a few farmers, the big men of their parish, seigniors or their sons, notaries or lawyers if French: merchants if English. When the House opened the question of language necessarily had to be settled. The supposition that the use of French as an official language, was provided for in the Act of 1791 is erroneous. There is nothing in it about language. English was the sole official language, and all the first Assembly could do was to agree on the permissive use of French in its debates and journals. The debate as to language arose in choosing a Speaker,

and the remarks of one of the members have been preserved. Mr. Panet said: "I will explain my mind on the necessity of the Speaker we are about to choose should possess and speak equally well the two languages. In which ought he to address the governors—is it in the English or French languages?—To solve the question, I ask whether this colony is or is not an English colony?—What is the language of the sovereign and of the legislature from whom we hold the constitution which assembles us to-day?—What is the general language of the Empire?—What is that of one part of our fellow-citizens?—What will that of the other and that of the whole Province be at a certain epoch? I am a Canadian, the son of a Frenchman—my natural tongue is French; for, thanks to the ever-subsisting division between the Canadian and the English since the cession of the country, I have been able to procure a little knowledge of that of the latter—my testimony will not, therefore, be questioned. It is then my opinion, that there is an absolute necessity that the Canadians, in course of time, adopt the English language, as the only means of dissipating the repugnance and suspicions which the difference of language would keep up between two peoples united by circumstances and necessitated to live together;—but in the expectation of the accomplishment of that happy revolution, I think it is but decent that the Speaker on whom we may fix our choice, be one who can express himself in English when he addresses himself to the representative of our sovereign."

The house was not in session a week until the incompatibility of the two elements became apparent. The English-speaking members assumed airs of superiority which ill became them, and to which they had no claim, while the French regarded them with suspicion and banded themselves together for mutual defence. Under the most favorable conditions it

would have been difficult to get the two elements to work in harmony; unfortunately, conditions were not favorable. War was going on between the Indian tribes of the southwest and the Americans. The authorities at Washington accused the British of secretly fomenting the strife. We know now, with the confidential correspondence between the governor of Canada and the Imperial authorities before us, how false that charge was, how sincerely anxious they were to keep on good terms with the American Government, and how Lord Dorchester and his subordinates exerted themselves to avoid even the appearance of offence. They, however, could not control individual Frenchmen, whose traditional alliance with the warring tribes and dislike of their English-speaking foes led them to assist in battling with the United States forces. Men suspected of acting thus were among the members of the Assembly, and their presence was resented by the English members. A second and worse cause was the firm belief of the English that there was danger of Canada being reconquered by the French. From the hour of its cession and for over a quarter of a century afterwards, this fear was dominant in the minds of the minority. That a French fleet would appear some morning in the St. Lawrence, land an army, and, assisted by the habitants, win Canada again for France, was a recurring dread with every prospect of war with that country. There was always a cry of wolf, of emissaries at work with French gold to seduce the habitants from their allegiance, of plots afoot to recapture Quebec, of officers disguised as civilians coming from France. When the Assembly met, relations between France and Britain were strained. The French revolution had broken out, party feeling was red-hot, and it was plain to all, that only Pitt's great influence kept the two nations from flying at each others throat. Just when national feeling was glowing intensely, when English were English and French were French, with

a meaning never before known, the Assembly met. They could not unite. The English professed to see on its benches Frenchmen who were aliens, who were there to plot and scheme to overturn British rule, unjustly imputing to every Frenchman the crimes and opinions that were being perpetrated and promulgated in Paris. The French members, forced by prudence to suppress their resentment outwardly, were as flatly hostile. They insisted not merely in using French in debate, many could not do otherwise, knowing no English, but in introducing bills in French, and in fixing the quorum at such a figure as made it impossible for the English members to be in a majority at any sitting. The governor, Dorchester, would not submit to bills being sent to him for his assent in French, much less agree to the statutes being printed in that language, and asked the Imperial authorities as to whether he should pass a bill laid before him in a foreign tongue. The instruction came back from London, that bills introduced in French, and passed in the Assembly, must be put into English before being submitted to him.

When each ship that cast anchor off Cape Diamond brought tidings of worse and worse excesses in France, when every institution, however venerable from age or association with all that men reverence, was being overthrown, when scaffolds were daily drenched with blood, and every land was crowded with fugitives, came the announcement that France had declared war against Britain. The handful of English on the banks of the St. Lawrence realized their danger, and proceeded to take steps for defence. The governor ordered a levy of the militia. It was the second effort to call the habitants to arms under the British flag. It was a paltry contingent he asked, 2,000 men. It was found impossible to make the levy. Disaffection found expression in riots and passive resistance. The English banded themselves in loyal associations, and the government, having suspended

Habeas Corpus Act, was active in arresting suspected persons. This was to be expected under the circumstances, yet it is evident had the effect of placing the two races into direct antagonism and of interrupting the slowly healing process that had been going on before the ill-advised Act of 1791 was adopted. The French now had a mouthpiece and a rallying point in the new Assembly, which used its power to obstruct the measures the governor thought necessary. All this was natural. They would have been less than men had they not yearned to get back under their own nation: they would have been less than Frenchmen had the blood not run faster in their veins as they heard of those victories of the French Republic that promised the displacing of English rule in Canada. Natural as all this was, Dorchester and his executive could not swerve from the line of conduct the victory of Wolfe had made incumbent upon them. Sedition was sternly dealt with by imprisonment and expulsion from the country, and all possible steps taken in preparation of invasion or a rising. It was a critical time, and only the victories won by the British fleet saved Canada from invasion.

Unlike the period of the American revolution, the priests gave no trouble. The horrible treatment of their fellow-priests in France overcame alike their fanaticism and their nativism, and they clung to British rule as their only safety. It was the seigniors who were the thorn. The prosperity that had come to Quebec as the result of British rule, had multiplied their receipts from the increasing number of their censitaires and the introduction of lumbering. They were no longer the beggarly idlers who sought charity from the British Government. The opening of the Assembly was their opportunity. They became members and were in their element in conducting intrigues to embarrass the authorities. Many had maintained correspondence with their family relatives in France, several had visited France: all were Anglo-

phobes of an implacable type, yet deceitful and plausible towards the English. Fortunately for Lord Dorchester, they had lost their influence over the censeitaires. The habitants had never liked them, and what respect they still showed was a survival of their fear under the old regime. They openly complained of their remorseless exactions. Under French rule they could appeal to the advocate-general to keep the seigniors within bounds: now there was no restraining hand, and the habitants were clamant in their demand that a law be passed to protect them. The government favored such a law, but in an Assembly where the seigniors had so much influence, its passage was impossible. The weakness that left the seigniors their feudal privileges is to be ranked among the causes which have produced the political difficulties which confront the Dominion. The development of the habitant is an interesting study. Under the old rule he could hardly be called a farmer, for his income depended more on his employment by the fur-traders than on what he raised from his land. Then his time was not his own. At any moment he was liable to be called out to serve as a soldier. In making forays on the English settlements and in repelling Indian attacks much of his time was taken up. There was no encouragement for steady industry, and as a matter of fact the work on the homestead was left largely to his wife and children. The habitant as we find him to-day, in an economical sense, is the product of English rule. It was under Murray, Carleton, Haldimand the transformation took place. He lost his military character, he lost the irregular habits of those engaged in the fur-trade, he lost the attribute of shiftlessness, of laziness, which intendants and visitors spoke of as a marked feature in his character, and he became, for the first time in his history, a farmer. Dwelling in the midst of his family those domestic virtues were unfolded which form so beautiful a feature in the habitant home, while his limited

earnings taught him his distinguishing thrift, for which there was no encouragement during the period when a commissary of the King could empty his barn. Between the habitant of the time of Louis XV. and of George III. the resemblance is slight. And this habitant created under English rule is incomparably the finest type of the French people. In solid worth—honesty, industry, kindly disposition, politeness—he commands respect, and if the cause was removed which has kept him unprogressive, he would astonish those who decry him, for the habitant and his children are naturally bright and have the capacity to take a foremost place among the peoples of this continent. Their intellectual bears no relation to their emotional and perceptive development, for they have been designedly kept in ignorance to serve the purposes of priest and politician. When the false lights of prejudice no longer distort the vision, when the bandages which have arrested his mental growth have been torn away, when the habitant sees and thinks for himself, there will be a renaissance in Quebec, outrivalling that of Italy, which will compel the wonder and admiration of the world. Those who speak disparagingly of the habitant are ignorant of the qualities which lie latent within him awaiting the touch of the spirit of truth.

The character of English rule from the conquest to the approach made to self-government in 1791 is persistently misrepresented. One of the stock pictures of St. Jean Baptiste day pulpit and platform orators, is that of the French people at the Conquest, deserted, helpless, despairing, revived by the appearance among them of their adored pastors, who called upon them to save their nationality by rallying around them. The people did so, and the priests protected them from the designs of the invader and brought them in triumph to this hour—it was the priests who did it all, saved their language, their nationality, their faith; trust in them for the future by giving them

your implicit obedience. Remember who it was, when Jean Baptiste lay dying from the wounds of the invader, dared to come and lift him up, healed his hurts and inspired him with holy courage to demand his rights! If the orator is a priest, he pauses at this point and puts his hands on his breast. He was the savior, and there are credulous people who believe him. This representation, that the British oppressed the habitants and tried to rob them of what they dearly cherished, cannot be proved. The instructions given by Lord Egremont to General Amherst when he invaded Canada in 1761 were, that he was to make every exertion to attach the French settlers and to prevent their being ill-treated or annoyed in any way: to offer the royal protection to all alike with laudable gentleness. The instructions to Murray, Carleton, Haldimand were of similar tenor—they were to win by kindness the French to be loyal subjects of the King. It is a gross reflection on these men who carried Canada through a dangerous period, it is base ingratitude for all the benefits they bestowed on the King's new subjects, to hold them up as bigoted tyrants who persecuted and robbed. The picture drawn by the priests of Canada after the conquest is, of course, to magnify themselves, to cause those who accept their word to look upon them as their saviors. What was the conduct of the priests in New France? What tolerance did they show to those who differed from them in creed or nationality? Would not allow a Protestant to take up his abode, hunted for them as if they were vermin. put them to the rack, and left the civil authorities to slay them; would not permit an English-speaking man in their midst. These are the men who prate about bigotry and heap odium on the British rulers who so petted the French-Canadians, conceded so much of what they asked, deferred so much to their prejudices, that they created trouble for their successors. One priest of the period in question, who

did not foresee how capital would be made by his brethren a century later out of the happenings of his day, has left his testimony. He who soon after became Bishop Plessis, in a sermon he delivered in the cathedral at Quebec, 27th June, 1794, said: "The disorders which prevailed in this colony (before the Conquest) ascended to heaven, crying vengeance and provoking the wrath of the Almighty. God visited our country with the horrors of war. . . . It spread the severest grief among all Christian families. They all lamented their own unfortunate lot, and that they could not live where the kingdom of God was threatened with destruction. Our conquerors were looked upon with jealousy and suspicion, and inspired only apprehension. People could not persuade themselves that strangers to our soil, to our language, our laws and usages, and our worship, would ever be capable of restoring to Canada what it had lost by a change of master. Generous nation! which has strongly demonstrated how unfounded were those prejudices; industrious nation! which has contributed to the development of those sources of wealth which existed in the bosom of the country; exemplary nation! which in times of trouble teaches to the world in what consists that liberty to which all men aspire and among whom so few knew its just limits; kind hearted nation! which has received with so much humanity the most faithful subjects most cruelly driven from the kingdom to which we formerly belonged; beneficent nation! which every day gives to Canada new proofs of liberality. No, no! you are not our enemies, nor of our properties which are protected by your laws, nor of our holy religion which you respect. Forgive, then, this early misconception of a people who had not before the honor of being acquainted with you; and if, after having learned the subversion of the government and the destruction of the true worship in France, after having

“enjoyed for thirty-five years the mildness of your
“sway, there are some amongst us so blind or ill-
“intentioned, as to entertain the same suspicions, and
“inspire the people with the criminal desire of return-
“ing to their former masters, do not impute to the
“whole people what is the vice of a small number.”

Eleven years later, Denaut, who succeeded Plessis as bishop, in a letter to the King, refers to the prodigious advance of the Province “since Canada happily
“passed to the Crown of Great Britain.”

CHAPTER V.

Quebec Thrown Open to Immigrants

It will be recalled that the policy of Lord North, and it was endorsed by his political opponents, was to keep Canada sealed against emigrants. Some encouragement, however, was given to soldiers who had served their time, to remain, and to them grants of land were made. Few went on the lots bestowed on them, and their patents they sold for a trifle. It was the influx of U. E. Loyalists that shattered the illusions of the home authorities regarding emigration. The drift of that remarkable movement was towards Ontario, yet streamlets trickled into Quebec. Men with their families, who had been robbed of everything by the successful Republicans, came in ships to Quebec and pleaded for assistance. Most of them were forwarded to the Lunenburg district, but, commencing in 1792, a few were granted lots in Quebec, which they set to work to clear. The tidings which travellers west of Montreal brought of the growth of thriving settlements where, a few years before, was unbroken forest, showed what was possible in Quebec, and encouragement began to be given to the people of the British isles to come over. From a policy of exclusion the Quebec authorities rushed to the other extreme. After refusing land grants for a generation, they now began to dispense them without discre-

tion. Creatures who had official influence sought and obtained vast areas, ranging from 40,000 acres downwards. The first grant was made in 1795, and in the next fifteen years over two million acres were ceded to men who had not the remotest intention of cultivating the land, but sought its possession in the expectation of selling it to those who would. It was the first of the long series of land-grabs that have lasted to our own time, and in some regards the most disgraceful. The evil effects of this locking up of land in the hands of those who held it in order to sell, were long felt, and did much to discourage emigrants remaining in Quebec. Had the land been granted only to those who would clear and cultivate it, a large English-speaking population would have been planted in Quebec. When the new-comer found there were no free lots, that the land he yearned for had been conceded to some official or political favorite, who asked a price for it, he passed onwards to Ontario. The course of Canada's governments, from first to last, in dealing with its great heritage of virgin land, has been criminal. It trammelled the development of all the Provinces, it blasted that of Quebec.

When the first ship came whose main purpose was the conveyance of emigrants cannot probably be ascertained. In 1817, the year when immigration assumed such proportions that it commanded attention, vessels arrived with from 300 to 400, which indicates the tide had set in several years before that date. From 1790 ships landed families and groups of families who found homes in Quebec, but a steady stream of immigrants did not set towards the St. Lawrence until 1815, and high flood was not reached until 1820. The years 1823 and 1824 were wet and cold, and where the people in the United Kingdom depended mostly on the potato they suffered from actual want. There was a rush to get away and ships bound for the St. Lawrence were packed. These

poor people were land-hungry and eager to get lots on landing at Quebec. The fringe of French parishes along the great river was mostly occupied, and what land was unoccupied was subject to rent, a word they had learned to dread. Back of the seigniories there were vast expanses of wild land, which, had it been given out in free lots, would speedily have been taken up. The Government, however, had conceded it to placemen, who asked prices which the new-comers, whose capital lay in their sturdy arms and undaunted courage, could not pay.

This fell in with the desires of the majority of the legislature, who threw every obstacle in the way of those who came from the British Isles settling in Quebec. Lord Dorchester perceived the obstacle seigniorial tenure presented to the settlement of the Province, and proposed not only that all unsurveyed land be granted in free and common soccage, but that steps be taken to enable seigniors to so convert their unconceded lands. The French members strenuously opposed these proposals, demanding that parish and seigniorial tenure be made universal. One of their arguments was that free and common soccage tenure of land was conducive to Republicanism! However, the governor had power enough to make that tenure the rule, and no Crown lands were conceded after 1796 except in free and common soccage. That did not settle the question. Notaries continued to draw deeds in the old form, and proprietors of ceded wastelands claimed the privileges of seigniors. In resisting the change of tenure, the majority in the Assembly did not express the desires of the habitants, who were a unit for the abolition of the feudal tenure. They complained that while the seigniors exacted rents beyond what the law allowed, they did not maintain mills, that they refused to sell the best lands, keeping them for their timber, that they inserted a clause in deeds of sale reserving the timber on the lots, and that, owing to the rise in values, the fines on their

selling had become excessive. They wanted to hold their land in free and common soccage. Composed largely of seigniors, or of members who shared their views, the Assembly was deaf to the demands of the habitants, who, ignorant of modes of procedure and incapable of combination, were unable to bring the power they possessed to bear. The more insistent the demand that seigniorial rights be abolished, the more resolute the Assembly became in making it a matter of patriotism to resist. Seigniorial tenure was French, and meant French ascendancy and autonomy. An English merchant, Alexander Ellice, bought the most western of the seigniories on the south shore of the St. Lawrence with the view of settling it with Scotch emigrants. On his son Edward inheriting the property he exerted himself to have the tenure changed, so that he could sell the land in free and common soccage. His will was potent in the official circle at Quebec, and a bill was submitted in 1822 to empower any seignior who chose to do so. It was thrown out by the Assembly. Supported by petitions from the habitants, the bill was introduced anew in 1825, and was again strangled. Seeing it was hopeless to obtain legislation in Quebec, the authorities did the next best—they got an Act passed by the Imperial Parliament specifying that all lands in Quebec outside the seigniories were of English tenure. Here again a great opportunity was lost to abolish the French tenure, which remained to blight the prospects of the habitants for another quarter of a century. The passage of this Act was made a grievance by the French members of the Assembly. One of its leaders, Viger, declared “the tenures bill caused the greatest discontent, because it destroyed at once the system which we considered extended to the whole Province, and which had been acted upon ever since the conquest.” Had Quebec continued under France, the seigniorial system would have been abolished, for its rulers had come to perceive what a blight it was

in a new country. Louis XV. refused to make grants of that nature, and steps were begun to re-unite unsettled seigniories to the public domain. When Cape Breton came to be settled its lands were held en routure.

The placing of all unconceded land outside French law benefitted the settlements along the frontier, for immigrants sought them out. So long as these settlements were weak and struggling, and separated from the parishes by an almost impenetrable belt of forest, little heed was paid them by the French leaders, but the opening of the Craig road and the knowledge that they were growing and prosperous developed unsleeping hostility. Every recommendation of the governors to assist them was ignored, and when they suggested they had a right to be represented in the legislature the French members would not hear of it. Quebec was for the French, and these new-comers were, to use their own phrase, "strangers and intruders" who had no rights the Assembly would recognize. In 1821 the Assembly declared itself in favor of extending the seigniorial system over the entire Province. They did so, though knowing well that system was an injury to the habitant. Why, then, did they advocate it? Because they knew full well Quebec had then a governor who would enforce the law that no parish be formed where the land was held in free and common soccage. The priests were determined their people would not be allowed to go on lands from which tithe and tax could not be collected, and the Assembly obeyed their order. To the hurt of the habitant they would oppose the abolition of feudal tenure until such time as the obstructing provision of the Quebec Act could be either repealed or defied. The motive in opposing free and common soccage, and in refusing to recognize the Eastern Townships settlers was the same that led the Assembly in 1823 to reject a proposal to unite with Upper Canada, as expressed by its leaders, namely, that it would en-

danger the peculiar laws and institutions of the French. In a joint letter of Papineau and Neilson it is hinted the new-comers should be united with Upper Canada.

The open and persistent hostility of the French leaders in the Assembly towards the English-speaking settlements was consistent from their point of view. Their ardent desire was to preserve Quebec for their own people. Secretly, for it was dangerous to avow it, they cherished the hope of its becoming a French Republic. In all this they did exactly what Englishmen would have done placed in a like position. If open to blame, it was that in seeking ends that spoke of love of race and country, they covered their purpose by hypocritical professions of loyalty to the British Crown and Constitution. No greater stickler for British rights ever appeared than Papineau, yet what he demanded for the French of Quebec he refused to the English. The sight of men protesting they were deprived of the privileges that were theirs under the British constitution, while working to restore French domination, was not edifying, and yet that is the sum and substance of the course pursued by the Assembly until ended by the rebellion.

The adoption of the Tenures Act drew a sharp line of demarcation between parish and township, silencing all questions as to the nature of the tenure of the land lying outside the seigniories, and confirming the belief of the settlers in the townships that French law did not run within their bounds. The words of the Hon. J. W. Horton, one of the oldest of the township settlers, when examined by the House of Commons in 1825 were literally true, "English law prevailed throughout the Province of Quebec between 1763 and 1774, and, so far as regards the townships, has never been repealed."

CHAPTER VI.

The Development of the National Idea

Excepting Craig, the governors between the departure of Dorchester and the coming of Dalhousie were no credit to the English name. Their greed was excelled only by their pettiness of mind. A great man can wield despotic power to benefit those over whom he is set, a weak one will descend to acts so despicable that resentment is colored with disgust. It has to be admitted their period of rule was trying. The French revolution had done in Quebec what the American revolution had failed to bring about—it had formed a band of Republicans, men who were enthusiastic in their belief that merely changing the form of government would transform everything. Their ardent minds yearned to make Quebec a Republic, and in this they were encouraged by the French Minister at Washington. Something like the clandestine communication between the exiled Stuarts and the Scottish Jacobites was opened by these French-Canadian Republicans with Genet and his successors, who encouraged them with promises and some money. Of more importance was the knowledge that the Americans along the frontier were ready to flock over at the first intimation of the red flag being unfurled. Had Washington, who was then President, given the slightest encouragement there would have been a

second invasion by the valley of the Richelieu. After the revolution came the rise of Napoleon. It is impossible for us to realize the dazzling effect his victories had on the French mind. Although far removed from the scene of his triumphs, and only imperfectly informed of them, the French-Canadians exulted in him, looking upon him as the hero of their race. Spontaneously the belief grew in their hearts that he would be their deliverer, that part of his invincible army was sure to cross the seas to Canada. While the French were intoxicated with the achievements of that marvellous soldier and eager to welcome his legions, the English were as decided in their detestation of him, their hatred being unjustly extended to the French people. Whatever approach had been effected between French and English during the rule of Murray and Carleton was now obliterated by distrust and hatred. The ruling class of Quebec and Montreal looked on the French as traitors at heart, ready to side with the tyrant who was menacing the existence of England, and, unfortunately, by their haughty bearing and their high-handed acts in averting the danger they supposed existed, intensified the Anglophobe sentiment. Whoever would know the temper of these times, let him read the records of the Assembly and the despatches of the Governors. The squabbles over trifles, the irritating attitude of the Assembly, the mean tyrannies of the official class, were the straws that indicated the tense feeling that divided the two races. If an exception be attempted in the case of Craig, it can only be on the score that, unlike his predecessors and successors, he was not self-seeking, and had a sincere desire to advance the interests of the Province. Yet the well-meaning old soldier, who tried to rule a Province as he had done his regiment, did more to estrange the contending nationalities than all the others. The party that had been formed before he came, on the platform of our

religion, our language, our laws, our usages, was consolidated by the course he pursued. Henceforth the majority in the Assembly had one object in view, gaining the Government of Quebec for themselves.

Perhaps the most foolish means to which the governors resorted, to defeat a purpose that was palpable, was their endeavor to enlist the priesthood on their side. The attitude to be taken by Protestant rulers towards the Church of Rome is so plain that there is no excuse for their going wrong. As the Church of a section of their fellowmen, it is entitled to the same protection as is extended to other Churches. To go further, is to place themselves in a false position. The Protestant ruler who looks upon the priests as a depositary of political power, and negotiates with them in order to obtain their support, is a party to an immoral proceeding, for two reasons. First, he is a traitor to those principles the term Protestant represents; second, he does wrong to the priests in asking them to use their spiritual power to advance temporal ends. Yet of this crime against the body politic, this sin against God, every governor, save Dalhousie and Craig, before the union, was guilty. Since the union, when personal gave way to representative government, every party leader stands equally convicted, for, to this hour, it has been their policy to enlist the influence of the hierarchy on their side. In no other way could such effectual aid be obtained for the time being: in no other way is the price of aid so pernicious to the welfare of the people. It is a simple statement of acknowledged facts, that in all such negotiations, whether either a governor, a leader of a party, or an ordinary politician approached a representative of the Church of Rome, whether a cure, bishop, or ablegate, the ecclesiastic has exacted a benefit for his Church. They could not do otherwise. In accepting orders they sank their individuality, merging their interests in those of the greatest of all close corporations, becoming its passive

agents, looking to its advancement as the purpose of their lives, and always remembering that, while they would pass away, the organization, whose creatures they are, would exist after them, and therefore, ever to have an eye to plan for its glory, however remote the realization of the plan might be. The men of the world who came asking for their favor had only a temporary purpose to serve, and cared not for the future so long as their personal ends were met. The advantages they craved and obtained perished with them. Not so with the black robes with whom they had dealings. The favors got in return for those the priests bestowed were not for themselves, but for their Church, and were permanent. The ruler or the politician had a momentary, a selfish purpose to serve: the ecclesiastic looked solely to the aggrandizement of the vast system in whose hand he was a staff. The early history of Canada exemplifies this as that of no other country, and does so because it is a solitary instance of a large Catholic population being ruled for four score years by a handful of Protestants, and when the non-Catholics did come to outnumber the Catholics, the latter, from their coherence, continued to hold the balance of power. The records I have now to quote tell one story—of the extremity of politicians being made the opportunity of the priests, of how they have grown in power and prerogative through the subserviency of politicians who made alliances with them to promote their individual interests or those of their party. How great the concessions have been only those realize who will compare what the Church of Rome was in the days of Murray and Carleton with what she is now. Then she was dependent on the will of the civil magistrate: to-day she dictates her desires to cabinets and legislatures.

Like too many Englishmen who find themselves in a new country, Sir Guy Carleton desired to reproduce the institutions of the country he left without considering difference in circumstances. England had an

Established Church, therefore Canada ought to have one. That a Church could be maintained without tithes was, to the ruling class of the reign of George Third as inconceivable as that the Crown should not nominate bishops and present to benefices. For lack of members there was no Anglican Church to establish, so for half a century each succeeding governor undertook to mould the Church of Rome to suit his ideas. One after another labored under the notion that it was possible to form the same relation between that Church in Quebec and the Crown, as existed between the Crown and the Anglican Body in England. Sir Guy would have all the priests born Canadians, he would have them educated in Canada, he would have them licensed and presented to their parishes by the King's representative, who would also have a veto on the choice of bishop, and from bishop and priest exact the oath as to the King's supremacy. In a close relationship between the Crown and the Church, the Church drawing its authority in temporal affairs from the Crown, the early governors saw a guarantee for the permanence of British possession. The priests humored the idea, for if the Crown placed itself under obligation to them they perceived a means of regaining the status their Church had under the French kings, and after events proved their shrewdness. They never exerted their influence to help the British to retain Canada, without securing an advantage for their Church.

Carleton was insistent that the priests should be Canadian born and educated, because he looked upon the priests who had come from France with suspicion. The danger of his time was the re-conquest of Canada, and he regarded the French priests as spies, as agents of King Louis, plotting to overthrow the existing state of affairs. To get rid of them was his purpose, and in this he was aided by the jealousy that existed between the French and the Canadian priests. The former despised the latter for their illiteracy and rus-

ticity; the Canadians, resenting these airs of superiority, assisted the governor in finding excuses for furnishing them with passage on board the first ship bound for France, and he, before long, got what he planned for, a native-born and home-educated priesthood. What was the result of this meddling with the internal management of a Church? The governor came under obligation to the priests, and the price exacted was including in the Quebec Act their old authority to tax and tithe. That was the forerunner of a hundred similar bargains. Whenever governor or politician approached priest or bishop to get support, the price paid has been at the expense of the country at large. Had Carleton not sought the aid of the priesthood, the Quebec Act would not have included Article 5. In the subsequent period, when the danger to the continuance of British rule came from within, not from without, governors and their advisers again relied on the priests for help, who were their spies, reporting what was going on among the disaffected, each recurring obligation involving some fresh concession.

For half a century after the conquest the priesthood were dependent on the goodwill of the State. The newly-appointed bishop did not exercise his functions until he visited on the governor, obtaining his approval of his appointment, and had administered to him the oath of allegiance; he could not erect parishes and the highest legal authority was against him in presenting to parishes without obtaining the governor's leave. The language of the royal instructions was definite, "that no person whatsoever is to have "holy orders conferred upon him or to have the care "of souls, without a license first and obtained from "the governor." The principle to guide the governors in dealing with the Church of Rome was laid down in these words: "A toleration of the free exercise of "their religion, but not the powers and privileges of "it as an Established Church." In consideration of

political services, irregularities in matters of patronage were winked at, and to bind the bishop to the service of the British Government a yearly salary from the Imperial treasury was allowed him. Contrast Bishop Denaut, ready to adopt a scheme that would have given the governor a voice in the temporal management of the Church; with Archbishop Bourget, placing the State beneath the heel of the Church, and the extent of the change in the condition and spirit of Quebec ecclesiastics, that took place within sixty years, will be estimated.

The breaking out of the war of 1812 came opportunely for the priesthood. The new danger caused the executive to seek their assistance, and the plan devised by Craig, to bring the priests under direct control of the governor, was abandoned. The yearly allowance from the Imperial treasury of \$1,000 to Bishop Plessis was raised to \$5,000, and, what he valued more than the additional money, the warrant for his salary, in 1813, was no longer made out in favor of "the superintendent of the Romish Church," for the existence of a bishop had not hitherto been officially recognized, but in favor of "the Roman Catholic bishop of Quebec," and so giving him, for the first time since the conquest, a legal status as such. Reduced to choosing between the rule of the American Republic and that of Britain the priests had no hesitation in deciding for the latter, so that Prevost's blandishments were superfluous. Indeed, they neither on this nor any previous occasion rendered any service to the Crown of special moment. The claim that it was due to the priests that Canada did not join in the American revolution, that the madness of the French uprising against monarchy did not spread to Quebec, that they prevented an invasion during Napoleon's reign, that they held back the habitants from assisting the Americans in the war of 1812, will not bear examination. In each instance they acted as the interests of their Church required and without

regard to the advantage of Britain. In every one of the four opportunities the French-Canadians had to rise against Britain, it is obvious their Church was going to profit more by remaining under British rule than in passing under that of Robespierre, of Napoleon, or of the United States. Under such conditions it was easy to pose as the friends of Britain and to accept money and legal concessions for pretended services. Two instances of toleration of this period are often quoted—the use of the Recollet and Jesuit churches for Protestant worship in Quebec and Montreal. These would indeed have been notable instances of toleration had these chapels belonged to the Recollets or the Jesuits. The properties in question belonged to the British Government, having been confiscated at the conquest, provision being made for the maintenance of the surviving members, who lingered around the old buildings until their death. In Protestants having had placed at their disposal by the governor for purpose of worship rooms in buildings whose title was vested in the Crown, there was nothing remarkable, and a present of candles to the old men in charge was a kindly compliment.

With the close of the war of 1812 came a change in the tone of the bishop and his assistants. The conciliatory, submissive attitude faded, replaced by a gradually increasing haughtiness. Concessions ceased to be humbly prayed for, they were now demanded, and the arrogance which ended in making the Church the dictator in temporal affairs began to be apparent. This was due partly to Prevost's policy of flattering and fawning, but more to the influence of those French priests who fled to Canada from the horrors of the revolution. They were given a cordial welcome as objects of pity by the authorities, who made provision for their living in comfort while in exile. Such of them as were Sulpicians were granted an allowance out of the revenues of the seigniorship of Montreal. These foreign priests, the product of the worst period of

Bourbonism, with inflated notions of the superiority of their order, and contempt for the common people, infected the native clergy with new notions of their importance—told them they were imposed upon by their English masters, who could not dispense with their support. It was advice to be expected from members of that priesthood who had influenced the counsels of France under successive kings, and whose lives and spirit had aided in provoking the greatest national convulsion Europe has known. Their influence in Quebec was malign.

While those who held the reins of government at Quebec labored under the delusion that the priesthood could be made subsidiary to their interests, they, with stupid fatuity, strove to fasten on the Province a Church establishment similar to that of England. Grants of public money were made to pay salaries to a bishop and clergy, a cathedral was built, and a chapter contemplated, and it was looked upon as feasible to levy tithes upon all Protestants until such time as the land set aside as clergy reserves should yield an income. Had these plans been carried out, the strange spectacle would have been presented of a Province having two Churches supervised by the State, and both subsidized out of the public purse.

A vivid conception of the ecclesiastical situation before the war of 1812 is obtained from a memorial by Bishop Mountain to the Imperial authorities. He complained that Plessis, coadjutor of Denaut, had assumed the title of Bishop of Quebec, in defiance of the King's patent which gave him (Mountain) that title, and was claiming a pre-eminence that was never contemplated nor intended, by styling himself "Monseigneur Sa Grandeur, Reverendissime et illustrissime," and it was notorious he did so by virtue of a bull from the Pope. He had extended his episcopal authority over Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, and had been appointing priests, including French emigrant priests, to parishes, which was expressly

against the King's regulation that no person should have conferred upon him the care of souls without a license from the governor. Bishop Mountain gave warning that while he would not wish to see the Roman Catholics deprived of any privileges necessary to their worship, he could not hide from himself the belief that unless the gradual extension of ecclesiastical authority were checked, the Roman Catholic religion would be to all intents and purposes the established religion of the country, and would be raised to a pre-eminence that was never contemplated nor intended. Lord Hobart, then in charge of the colonies, advised Governor Milnes to notify Plessis of the "impropriety of his assuming new titles or the exercise of any additional powers." Attorney-General Sewell had interviews with Plessis, and of two of these, reports have been preserved. Sewell did his best to impress Plessis with the fact that the King was the head of the state, and that the bishop could exercise no more temporal power than the King conferred upon him. With his spiritual jurisdiction the government had no desire to interfere, but in temporal matters he was under British, not French or papal law. Plessis resented this, asking, Did not canon law obtain? No, answered Sewell, you are under the laws administered by the King's courts. Plessis was told he could not tax; he could not even fix the fees for baptisms, marriages, and funerals. These charges were to be regulated entirely by the people of each parish. The bishop expressed a desire to control expenditures upon the building and repairing of churches and parsonages. The Attorney-General replied that these were civil matters; that the people had to do with them, and that all contestations respecting them were cognizable, not in Rome, but in the King's courts. Plessis then demanded authority over the schools. The reply was, "This is impossible." He also wanted to be empowered to erect parishes. The Attorney-General an-

swered that the parishes were certainly ecclesiastical divisions; but inasmuch as civil authority ran current with ecclesiastical authority in the parishes the Crown could not concede the right to create parishes to any bishop, whether Protestant or Catholic. What Attorney-General of our times would take the stand Sewell did in these memorable interviews?

With the restoration of peace in 1814 the obstructive tactics of the Assembly grew increasingly offensive to the executive. Given a representative Assembly French and Catholic, and a nominated council English and Protestant, what other result could there be than strife? The bills that originated in the Assembly the council vetoed; those the council sent down were rejected. There was no intermediary to bring the two together, for there was no Cabinet, no Ministers responsible to the Assembly for the measures introduced, or for the conduct of business. The Assembly was independent of the council and the council of the Assembly, and each regarded the other as its special enemy. Then, back of both, was an executive council, responsible to neither and having a veto power over both.

Is it wise to give self-government to a people who may use it in an endeavor to free themselves from their allegiance to the nation that bestows the boon? The history of Quebec answers No. The well-meant gift of the Imperial Government of an elementary form of representative institutions worked out badly for the people intended to be benefited, and led to endless complications and difficulties to the British authorities. I confess I shrink from the task of outlining the events which ended in the rebellion of '37-'8, for to him who desires to think well not only of his countrymen, but of the French who had been, by the rude force of war, entrusted to their care, in the events between Craig's administration and that of Colborne, there is little creditable to either nationality. In tracing the causes which have led to the dying-

out of the English-speaking settlements, it is necessary, however, to give attention to this period.

For the detestable struggle which came into being at the organizing of the first Assembly, but which did not become palpable until 1800, nor acute until about 1820, the Act of 1791 is responsible. It was a half-hearted measure. Had it handed over the government of Quebec to representatives of the majority of its inhabitants, that would have meant the loss of the Province to the Crown, for it would have been speedily converted into a French Republic. That was foreseen by Pitt, and a compromise made. The French were to be given a voice in the government, and to a nominated council, and to the governor and his executive council was entrusted a reserve power to enable them to preserve the Province to the Crown. This arrangement could not fail to breed trouble. The French, zealous in seeking their independence, were constantly thwarted by the council and the executive, until governor and council came to be distrusted and hated by the French.

The period between the peace of 1814 and 1837 is commonly spoken of as a struggle for constitutional liberty, and gratitude expressed to Papineau and his colleagues for the part they played. Men, who ought to know better, are still heard repeating: We are enjoying what they fought for. If we were enjoying what Papineau and his associates fought for, we would be living in a French Republic. The confusion of ideas regarding the period in question is extraordinary. Because the French professed a zeal for constitutional forms, they were fighting for the freedom Britons love: because the English settlers of those days opposed them, they were the abettors of tyranny. Why be misled by names and cries? Is it conceivable that Papineau was the representative of freedom, and Dalhousie of despotism? Is it not more consonant with fact and common-sense, to say Papineau plotted to overthrow British rule and Dalhousie resisted him

to maintain it? It is nothing new to seek treasonable ends under the cloak of zeal for the British constitution. In these days we see, in Ireland and India, the leaders in movements to break the Imperial tie using that device. Given a body of men eager to change rulers, entrusted with legislative powers by the government they are opposed to, and by what way could they undermine that government except under constitutional forms? Force being out of the question, Papineau and his party had to keep within the letter of the law. The end they had in view was the overthrow of the English, which was, from their standpoint, a patriotic undertaking. To achieve their purpose, they had the legislative powers conceded to them by the Acts of 1774 and 1791, and they used them skilfully and persistently. In the Assembly their course was the simple one of obstruction. Whatever the governor asked, they refused,—when they dared; whatever the council enacted affecting their cause, they rejected. Necessarily they had to do all this on constitutional lines, and so it came they used British parliamentary terms and procedure in the expectation of thereby trampling upon and casting out British institutions. They proposed to kill English rule in Quebec with the weapon the British Government had confidingly put into their hand. To show how they worked take, for instance, the one prominent grievance of the French members, that they were denied the distribution of the Crown revenue—meaning thereby the revenue allotted by the home authorities for the payment of the salaries of officials. In the Assembly debates no disguise was made as to the motive for the demand—that it would place in the hands of the French members the power to take away the salaries of the English-speaking officials, who, as a result, would have to resign, when they would fill the vacancies from among their own number. Successive governors perceived what the Assembly sought, and rejected their oft-repeated

demand. The demand of the Assembly was perfectly constitutional, and its refusal just as unconstitutional. The dispute, however, was not academic, it was one of fact. Those who made the demand, sought, under the cloak of zeal for constitutional government, to deal a fatal blow to British rule, and those who denied the demand did so according to the dictate of self-preservation. Because a legislature makes a constitutional demand it does not follow its members have a constitutional end in view. Their motive has to be considered. Take another instance. The Assembly demanded that the Crown lands be entrusted to their charge. What was their motive? They did not conceal it. They wanted to stop the flow of English-speaking settlers into the townships. Did Dalhousie act as a tyrant or as a true servant of the government he represented, when he put his foot down, and said "No," with emphasis, he would keep the control of the waste lands in the hands of the executive and go on inducing English-speaking immigrants to take up their abode in Quebec? It was the same with a score of other nominal constitutional grievances. It was a violation of British constitutional precedent for Craig, and, after him, Dalhousie, to carry on the government by means of loans from the military chest, yet they had either to do so or quit their residences and take the first ship for England. Look under the surface of the political agitation of these times, blow away the smoke about constitutional grievances, and there will be seen an ably led and energetic majority using any pretence and any catchword to attain the object of their desire—Quebec for the French—and a pitifully small minority striving to preserve Quebec as a British possession. Both were right from their own standpoint. Nothing was more natural than that the French should use the power given them by the Act of 1791 to endeavor to drive the English out. They only did what the English would have done had they been in

their place. On the other hand, how could the officials entrusted by the Crown with the preservation of British interests, do otherwise than they did in thwarting the efforts of the French? Wolfe's victory placed both in a false position. Under the pretence of zeal for the British constitution the French sought to overthrow British rule; while those in office had to break constitutional law to defeat the men who were scheming to overthrow British power. When appeals were made by the Assembly to the Houses of Parliament regarding the high-handed acts of governors in conducting the affairs of the Province without their consent, it was impossible for the home authorities to justify the King's representatives, their conduct was plainly unconstitutional, yet they acknowledged that force of circumstances justified their irregularities, that, had they not overridden the will of the Assembly, British ascendancy would have been undermined. Dalhousie may be represented in two lights—as a dictator, putting under his feet the constitution in order to tyrannize the French, or as a patriot, who dared to break the letter of the law to keep the British flag flying from Cape Diamond.

Until within a year or so of the rebellion, I know of no evidence that the French leaders intended resorting to force. They believed they could attain their purpose by so embarrassing the executive that British government would become impossible, and the Province be abandoned to themselves. Their course was shaped to bring about a deadlock—a crisis, when the English executive would have to confess inability to longer conduct public affairs and abandon the reins to them. Every obstacle they could devise was placed in the way of successive governors and their advisers, and no artifice left untried to make them odious in the eyes of the habitants. Grievances were hatched by the dozen. Whoever had a complaint to make against an English-speaking official was invited to lay it before the Assembly, and payment promised

for his loss of time in doing so. Even the judges were not exempt. They were described as minions of the governor, who gave judgment according to his instructions and not according to law. The crown of all their grievances, was the complaint of the Assembly that they were denied power to organize a court which would try and sentence the officials they impeached. For thirty years, the Assembly and the executive were in open strife, with brief periods of truce, as during Prevost and Kempt's terms of office. One side demanding the other refusing, the one thwarting the other, and all the while the two races drifting farther apart. The origin of the distrust which still exists between French and English is a continuance of the feeling of this unhappy period, for the evidence goes to show that until the fatal gift of a legislative Assembly there was no open enmity between the two races.

The sort of members who made up that Assembly should be understood. The pall of ignorance that overhung the parishes when they passed under British rule had in no degree been lifted. In 1801 a well-meant attempt was made to establish a system of elementary schools. It was defeated by the priests. Unless given control of the schools they would prevent their people attending them, and so the plan came, so far as the habitants were concerned, to naught. The revenue derived from the Jesuit estates was available for such a purpose, and that from the seigniory of Montreal could also be brought in, so that there was no financial difficulty in giving the Province a school system. The obstacle in the way of teaching the children of the habitants to read and write was the priests, who took the stand that the education of their people must be left in their hands. To this the British authorities would not consent, and up to 1845, so far as schools were concerned, the parishes were as Vaudreuil had left them. The habitant's childlike ignorance of the world outside his own Pro-

vince, his utter unconsciousness of the nature of public affairs, excited the surprise of every visitor. There was no cause for surprise. For generations he had been confined to a secluded part of the world, outside the community of other nations; with the one country to the south of him, that bordered his own, he had been prevented, by brutal penalties, from having intercourse. What he knew of other countries and peoples was what his priest chose to tell him or what he heard from some stray soldier of Old France. For centuries he and his fathers had been taught they were the creatures of their King, that it was their duty to obey him and give their services whenever he called upon them. Of self-government they had no conception. Of the British constitution they knew less than of the Roman decretals. It was their King's province to govern, that of the priest to tell them what to believe. Take such a people, confined to a hermit corner of the earth, trained generation after generation by priest and ruler to blind obedience to throne and church, and it is no matter for surprise that an acute observer so late as 1840 described the ignorance and credulity of the habitant as unbounded, so that he had ceased to wonder they became the victims of the agitators who stirred up rebellion. Lieut.-Governor Milnes described the habitants as industrious, peaceable, and well-disposed, but liable to be misled by artful and designing men, and there has never ceased, since Milnes' day, a succession of designing men to elevate themselves into office by playing on the prejudices of the peasantry of Quebec. The marvel is, that, brought up during the French regime under a system of repression, the habitant retained his brightness of apprehension, his liveliness of spirit. Only the happy genius of a superior race had preserved him from sinking into the apathy, the sullenness of the Russian serf. To offer to a people so long hemmed in from the world around, in whose natures had been ingrained the lesson that they

were born to be ruled, the splendid boon of self-government was folly, for they neither comprehended it nor knew how to use it. The few educated men in the Province, however, saw in it their opportunity to obtain an unlooked for voice in the government of the Province, and the priests a means of benefiting their Church. In the first Assembly were a few of the habitant class but they were incapable of taking part. Had it been otherwise, had an Assembly of habitants been constituted, with their deference for authority, the governors might possibly have been able to make the Act of 1791 workable. Instead of habitants, the House was largely made up of lawyers and notaries, with an occasional physician, or seignior. The habitants having no political opinions, no conception, in fact, of representative government, the educated members took them in hand to instill in their minds the views they wished them to hold. The political speech after mass became an institution, and hearing no other views, and unable to read, the habitants believed what was told them in those Sunday orations. Here the English were at a disadvantage. They had no class equivalent to that which composed the majority of the Assembly, and the few among them capable of going on the platform were ignorant of French. The consequence was that for nigh forty years a propaganda hostile to British interests was carried on without check. The English, although they knew what was going on in the parishes, were unable to have their side of the case represented; sometimes found it difficult to obtain seats for officers of the Crown, such as the Attorney-General, in the Assembly.

It may be remarked that to this day the habitants have never been represented in Parliament by members chosen from their ranks, though the same cause, lack of sufficiently educated men among them, does not now exist. They are still, as in the days of Craig and Dalhousie, represented by deputies drawn from

the professional class, and the Dominion has the views of that class thrust upon it as the voice of Quebec. The representatives of Quebec, in the Senate and in the House of Commons, are of a class distinct and widely different from their constituents, a class of which no other Province has its counterpart—men educated in clerical colleges and who, no matter what profession they choose, expect to figure in public life. It is from this select class the habitants receive their political teaching. This fact, that the representatives of the habitants have always been and are to this day, drawn from a distinct caste, is not given the weight it deserves. The word caste is used advisedly. A bright boy appears. The priest advises his being sent to college. The training of these colleges destroys individuality; their being residential, their system of constant supervision and espionage makes this possible. Cut off from outside intercourse, taught by priests, directed by priests, constantly associated with priests, the lad imbibes their views. The first object of these colleges, as is stated in their announcements, is to make the student a good Catholic. The course of study is not of the nature to develop his mind by broadening it, nor are the books he is allowed to read calculated to expand it by conveying knowledge from every quarter. He leaves college a new being. He is no longer a habitant boy; he no longer means to labor with his hands; his ambition is to scheme to get into the inner circle where power and wealth are to be got. He faces the battle of life with an apprehension sharpened by prolonged study of scholastic philosophy, with a careful training in rhetoric, and, above all, with an implicit faith in the authority of his church. None are more acute in analysis, none more ready or eloquent in speech than the average graduate of these clerical institutions, yet none more narrow, taught to measure by the standard of creed, and none in whom the noble thirst for truth, seeking to gratify it untrammelled and uncoerced, is

less manifest. Through the students she sends from these seminaries Rome rules Quebec, and may, as she is now doing, continue to rule the Dominion. What was it the members of this caste instilled into the minds of the habitants during the period under consideration? First, that Quebec belonged to them as the children of the soil; second, that it would be an easy task to drive out the English. The governor and his subordinates were depicted as brutal tyrants, who hated everything French and Catholic, who were trampling on the laws in order to plunder and oppress, and these assertions were supported by alleged acts that were always misrepresented, many without a semblance of truth. The object the habitant was to keep in view was the downfall of this corrupt and tyrannical administration, to be replaced by la nation Canadienne, whose purpose would be to preserve the religion, language, laws, and usages, which they made them believe were threatened with immediate destruction. To overthrow this system of tyranny, the habitants were assured, from their being in an overwhelming majority, was easy of accomplishment. The habitants were told Britain was in her decrepitude, that her strength on this continent had become so feeble that all that was needed was a united and simultaneous rush to drive out every vestige of English rule, and place the children of the soil in power. The habitants believed this, and the belief strengthened with time, until smashed by the experience of the rising in 1837. Against the many unfortunate results that flowed from that revolt, there was, at least, one good effect, it shattered the delusion that had overspread the parishes, that the strength of Britain had become so contemptible that they ran no risk in defying it.

In their leaders the French had the advantage. The English had no men to compare in ability, fertility of resource, or persistence to Viger, Cuvillier, and Papineau. The last dominated. Justice has not been

done that remarkable man. To dismiss him as a demagogue who played on the string of racial hate, is to misrepresent him. He stands the foremost man of his race in intellect and independence of thought. Had he not made the mistake of consenting to an armed rising, he would have led in the emancipation of the habitant from the despotism of the priests. In him was centred the aspiration of a French-Canadian Republic, and let the English-Canadian put himself in Papineau's place and see if he can blame him. It was no compliment to his political sagacity to suppose that such a Republic was possible—it was to his honor as a Frenchman that he should have striven to regain what his fathers had lost. As a sincere believer in the republican form of government, the administration at Quebec was objectionable to him as representing royalty. His views he thus expressed: "The people of this country are preparing themselves for a future state of political existence, which I trust will be neither a monarchy nor an aristocracy. I hope Providence has not in view for my country a future so dark as that it should be the means of planting royalty in America, near a country so grand as the United States. I hope the time has gone by when Europe could give monarchies to America, but, on the contrary, the time is approaching when America shall give republics to Europe." There was little in the conduct of the ruling class of his early days to recommend royalty, for several of the governors reflected no honor on the throne they represented, and were surrounded by a clique of office-holders who for greed, indolence, superciliousness, and ignorant contempt of the French deserved much of what Papineau said of them. Worse than all, there was dishonesty in handling the public monies. The term "bureaucrat" represented to the mind of the habitant for many a year all that was bad. No one who has English blood in his veins can look on certain of the officials and judges of the period preceding the union of 1841

without a feeling of shame. The gentlemen who at their dinner-tables befuddled what brains they had by drinking confusion to Papineau and the French would have served their King and their race by giving Papineau no occasion for the complaints about them he was constantly sending to London. Their private characters did not command the respect of the French, who watched them with envious eyes: there was less in their conduct of public affairs to commend to them English rule.

In the movement looking to Quebec's independence, the French had some assistance from the English population. There then appeared the forerunners of a type of politician the Dominion knows well, who thought they could use French influence for their personal advancement, of whom Stuart is an example. Then there were men who had been radicals in the Old Country, and who resented the high-handed acts and dishonesty of those in office in Quebec, siding with Papineau on this score, of whom Neilson was prominent. The number of these English-speaking sympathizers was minute, however, compared with those who wished to see Quebec made a State of the American Union. Up to about 1830 the English-speaking population of the Province was largely composed of native-born Americans, and, in Montreal, especially, there was a wealthy colony of them. Firm in the belief that an independent French Republic would be found impossible, the Americans supported Papineau, in the expectation that the result of the agitation he headed would be annexation. The most prominent man in this coterie was Nelson.

While the official class were no honor to the Crown there were two sections of the English who did the land of their origin credit. There was, first, the mercantile. Merchants from the Thames, the Mersey, and the Clyde developed a trade that, by 1820, each spring whitened the St. Lawrence with the sails of hundreds of ships, and rose from nothing to be counted by mil-

lions of dollars. The second were the immigrants who sought out land, enriching the country not only by their labor, but more by their example in introducing among the French a higher type of farming. It was the Montreal merchants and the Ulster and Scottish farmers who preserved Quebec to Britain in 1837-38. The wealth and influence of the first, and the sturdy resistance of the second, were rocks that could not be swept aside.

The growth of the English settlements along the frontier was such that, in 1825, it was computed their assessable property outvalued that of the parishes between them and the St. Lawrence, yet progressive and important as they were, to them the advantages of governmental institutions were denied. The Assembly treated them as intruders who were not to be recognized. Petitions for aid to open roads, for registry offices, for courts, were ignored. Most striking of all refusals was that of representation. The patriots who were declaiming as to their inherent rights from being British subjects, who were constantly quoting authors on the constitution, and who grew eloquent over the examples of Hampden and Russell, peremptorily refused to grant representatives to the new settlements. Governor after governor pointed out the injustice thus done, but in vain. No more English-speaking members were wanted in the Assembly. When, for very shame's sake, and when it became advisable to keep up appearances with the home government, representation was granted, it was done in a way that gave the votes of the new members no weight. In 1823 the Assembly offered to allot five members to the Eastern Townships on condition that the number of French members be increased by a score. The council declined the magnanimous offer, and the townships continued to be unrepresented. This in itself proves the hollowness of the pretension that the movement headed by Papineau was to redress constitutional grievances. No violation of the prin-

principle of self-government is comparable to denying an important section of the population a voice in the government. The men who were denouncing a succession of governors as tyrants who were depriving them of their constitutional rights, were at the very time refusing the barest recognition to 80,000 residents of the Province. And for what reason? Because they were ignorant, because they were disloyal? Not at all: the reverse was the truth. The franchise was denied these eighty thousand of thrifty, intelligent, well-living people because, if representatives from them were admitted to the Assembly, their presence would militate against the plan of making Quebec a nation *Canadienne*. In a British colony, a large body of people were denied representation simply because they were not French. The settlers expressed this in a petition to the Crown, that representation in the Assembly would have been given them "had not their language and descent been British." Of more immediate importance was the refusal to give them the legal institutions requisite for the preservation of the rights of person and property. They could get no courts. The consequence was, that an unscrupulous man who wished to wrong another could institute an action in Quebec, Three Rivers, or Montreal, and force the defendant either to make a journey through the forest of a hundred miles or more, or submit to judgment by default. If he chose to brave the cost and fatigue of the journey he found, on entering the court, that his case would be tried according to French law, probably by a French judge. No complaint was more reasonable than that of the French, after the conquest, that they were made subject to laws with which they were unacquainted, and tried in a language they did not understand, and it had more weight in inducing members of the House of Commons to vote for restoring the custom of Paris than anything else. The sons of the people who made that complaint, and who had rejoiced when a British parliament set aside Eng-

lish law to meet their views, showed not the slightest consideration when asked to right an exactly similar wrong. The English settlers complained of being made "subject to French laws of which they know nothing, compiled in a language with which they are unacquainted," and those who controlled the Assembly mocked their complaint. The very Act which revived French law specified that it "should not extend to lands granted in free and common soccage." In defiance of that condition, on which the French had obtained their request in 1774, the French, fifty years afterwards, did their utmost to force French law and the French language on the settlers of the townships. The mercy the French had asked and obtained they would not show.

Of all the French laws the English settlers were most vexed by that which gave force to a mortgage passed before a notary without making it of public record. A settler would buy a lot of land, receive a deed, go on and improve the land, to be suddenly surprised by a stranger claiming possession, producing a mortgage executed before a notary living in a distant parish. Scores of immigrants lost their little capital and a year or more of hard work in this way. The demand of the English was, that registry offices be established, where all hypothecs be recorded, so that a search would show whether a clear deed was being obtained. This request was stoutly resisted as an innovation on French law, and it was several years before authority was obtained to establish a registry office at Sherbrooke, and mortgages not recorded held to be only common obligations.

The perplexity of each succeeding Governor as to how to carry on the business of the Province kept increasing. Having control of the Provincial revenue, the Assembly used their power to make government impossible. They withheld the salaries of those in public employ, even the pitiful allowances to the teachers in the English settlements, and refused grants

for roads and bridges, immigration and the administration of justice. That government be carried on, and the public credit maintained, governors had to draw on the Crown, and their doing so was made a fresh grievance by the Assembly, and so recorded in its journal.

Those who judge of these times by the conditions of to-day wonder at Papineau's belief that he could wrest independence by constitutional means. There is no comparison between the situation of eighty years ago and that which exists. Ontario was just struggling into existence, a string of thin settlements along its water fronts, whose existence was dependent on the use of the St. Lawrence as their channel of supply and export. Its population was not half of that of Quebec, and its political influence in London was almost nil. When Canada was mentioned in the House of Commons, it was Quebec that loomed before the minds of members, and of Quebec and her affairs these members had come to be heartily sick.- To get rid of perplexing problems of race and creed, of incessant complaints, agitations, and demands, many members were ready to vote to let Quebec go her own way. Then, there was the financial consideration. Quebec had been a drain on the Imperial treasury from its first occupation. Instead of lessening, the votes asked yearly for Quebec kept growing, and to Britain, at that time, suffering from bad trade and financial depression, stoppage of this expenditure was of vital consequence. In the House of Commons, Huskisson, well qualified to speak from having been Secretary for the Colonies, recognized the gravity of the situation by replying to those who favored abandoning Quebec. He would not have done so, had they not been influential in number and position. He tacitly acknowledged it would save much trouble to Britain to let Quebec go, but asked could they in justice to those of their fellow-subjects of English speech who were faithful to their allegiance and whose good conduct gave them a claim to the protection of

Britain? Here lay the crux of the difficulty—to yield to the demands of the Assembly for complete control of the Province of Quebec meant the abandonment of the English settlers, whose quiet, prosperous, and contented condition stood out so markedly against the restless clamor of the French agitators, who were using constitutional cries to overthrow the constitution, and affecting a zeal for the Crown to get into a position that would enable them to kick it into the St. Lawrence. Supposing Dalhousie had recognized the election of Papineau as Speaker, that he had consented to the Assembly having entire control of the civil service and judiciary, that he had given up control of the Crown lands and the Crown funds, transferring both to the Assembly, that he had promised to veto no measure passed by a two-thirds majority, and undertaken that the Imperial Parliament pass no bill affecting Quebec without the Assembly's concurrence, what would have resulted? Would Quebec to-day be British, or, more momentous consideration, would that vast territory that lies west of it, and to which Quebec is the gateway, be British? Would Papineau and his confreres, who denied representation to the English settlements of Quebec, who withheld from them all the institutions that secure property and public order, who opposed building roads that would give them access to the St. Lawrence, who placed every possible obstacle in the way of immigration from the United Kingdom, and of the land being granted to others than their own countrymen, have taken the steps that have led to the making of Ontario and the great Provinces west of it? Strange to say, the men who preserved Canada as the seat on the North American continent of British institutions, it is the fashion to adjudge as arbitrary, over-riders of the constitution, while their opponents are lauded as patriots, and are spoken of as the authors of the liberties we enjoy. Consideration of the intentions of the party represented by Papineau and of the class represented by Dalhousie will correct many

grievous mistakes in the popular mind regarding Quebec history. The one aimed at the formation of la nation Canadienne, the other sought to reproduce on Canadian soil all that was good in Britain. The great service rendered by what was known up to 1840 as the British party in Quebec, in rendering possible the Canada we know, will yet be acknowledged.

There were governors who fancied if the leading agitators were got rid of peace would be restored to the Province. Dalhousie was not one of them. The noisy group in the Assembly were vexing him beyond endurance, but he perceived their inspiration and their strength were drawn from the priesthood. A word from the priests at election time would have deprived the leaders of their seats and turned the tide of sentiment in the parishes. That word was not spoken, for the priests saw the agitation was serving a double purpose, isolating the habitants from the Protestants and, in the end, would result in securing great advantages to themselves. Dalhousie was resolute in his determination that they should be disappointed, that he would show them their lurking behind the scene and blowing the bellows that was fanning rebellion instead of resulting to their profit would strip them of the favors they had already obtained. His plan was to bring back the priests to the same position as they held in the days of Louis XV. It is of first importance, he wrote the Imperial Government, to bring them to respect the prerogative of the King. A loose rein has been given them, which they have used to strengthen their power. They act as independent of the Crown. Let the King take up the reins and exercise his prerogative in the disposal of patronage, as the King of France did most peremptorily up to the day when Canada was surrendered to the British arms. Repeated appeals of this nature brought from London no authority to Dalhousie to re-establish the old order, which he assuredly would have done, for he was a man not to be trifled with and cared nothing for the

threats and pretensions of sacerdotalism. Had he been given a free hand, there would have been no rebellion, no Lord Durham, and no state church to perplex the Dominion.

Abandonment of Quebec being barred, the home authorities had to consider what device they should adopt to end the deadlock. The most plausible suggestion was that the island of Montreal be annexed to Ontario, thus giving that Province what it was then in urgent need of, a seaport. Another proposal was, that the island of Montreal and all of Quebec that lies south and west of it, including the Eastern Townships, be formed into a new Province. A third suggestion was, that Bonaventure and Gaspé be given to New Brunswick, and the Magdalen Islands to Prince Edward Island. All these proposals were based on the principle that the divisive courses of Quebec could either be controlled by the presence of a majority of English, or made harmless by giving the French by themselves. The device was a cowardly evasion of the difficulty; an unjust overbearing of the will of the French. The crisis was due not to their being denied the rights of British subjects, but to their seeking to be other than British subjects. Had they been content with the rights and privileges of British subjects, they would have lived as quietly as the settlers of Bedford and Huntingdon. Seeing it was their strivings to erase all England had effected that was the cause of trouble, the straightforward course was to grapple with the situation by repealing the Quebec and Canada Acts, thus wiping out all special privileges and making the Province again a Crown colony; giving the priests to understand they would be reduced to an equality with the ministers of other churches and no pretension to exceptional treatment recognized; organizing a thorough system of secular education in every parish, and awaiting the time when the habitants would be capable of being entrusted with self-governing institutions. The deputation sent by the Assembly to England in

1828 laid before the House of Commons petitions signed by eighty-seven thousand against union with Ontario. Out of that number seventy-six thousand signed by making a mark. That one palpable fact, speaking more forcibly from the table of the House, where the petition lay, than words could of the ignorance that prevailed, ought to have convinced parliament of the state of affairs that prevailed in Quebec, a solid mass of ignorant people, dominated by their priests, and, with their connivance, left to be manipulated by agitators. The debates that ensued showed Ministers the bill they had prepared to join Quebec to Ontario would not carry. The agitation over the first reform bill was then at white heat, and with the air full of shouts for constitutional rights and for the abolition of hereditary abuses, it was useless to attempt to convince the Opposition that Dalhousie's course was justified by the conditions he had to face. The bill was not submitted. Had it become law it is doubtful if it would have prevented the rising of 1837.

Events were now allowed to drift, and speedily ended in an open rupture between the Assembly and the executive. The leaders of the Assembly became defiant, the governors resolute in resisting, confident that, if a rising were attempted, it would fail. Their confidence was not based on the military force available, for it was small, but on an understanding that had been come to with the head of the Catholic Church. Bishop Plessis encouraged and aided the movement headed by Papineau, but his successor discovered, that, in the interests of his Church, a change of policy was desirable. There was, owing to increase of population, need for the appointment of two more bishops. The Imperial Government refused its sanction to create new dioceses. Then, in the proposed union bill, Bishop Panet had found there were provisions for putting into force the slumbering power of the Crown in nominating the bishop and presenting cures to parishes. Back of all this, he had informa-

tion of a proposal to carry into effect the confiscation of the seigniory of the island of Montreal, and use its funds for Crown purposes. The bishop was alarmed. What was the cause of la nation Canadienne compared with the interests of Rome? The church came first. The governor was approached, the bishop seeing an opportunity for making a bargain. If the government would agree to leave the seigniory of Montreal in the hands of the seminary of St. Sulpice, if it would give its consent to the appointment of a bishop for Montreal, if it would give civil powers to new canonical parishes, if it would drop the clauses in the drafted Union Act about nominating bishops and presenting cures, if it would erect the dioceses into corporations, the priests would abandon Papineau and give their support in maintaining British authority. An understanding between the bishop and the governor was arrived at. The change of attitude of the priests was quickly perceived by Papineau. They had encouraged him in the agitation so long as it suited them, and now they had made a bargain at his expense and that of his associates. He resented the betrayal with all the ardor of his enthusiastic temperament. The bureaucrats, he now told his followers, were not the only class to be dealt with. When the English were got rid of, there were black gowns to be clipped and there were tithes to be reduced.

In 1831, when a petition from the Assembly was presented to him, Lord Sherbrooke asked if they had included all their grievances, was there not something behind they were concealing; would they not be candid and tell him all? The something they were concealing it was not yet time to avow, but what that something was had become palpable to the most unobservant. It was asked that all revenues, no matter how derived, be placed in the hands of the Assembly, that it have control of all officials, including judges, that the management of the militia be given over to it by

the governor, with the crowning proposal, that the governor be no longer appointed by the King, but elected directly by the people of the Province or their representatives. Complete severance from Britain was wanted, and in a Province where the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants were French, it meant a French government. Would it be just to the thousands of English-speaking farmers who had settled in the Province, or to the merchants who had invested their capital in its trade, to abandon them to the rule of such a government? Would it be just to the people of Ontario, and to the territory west of it, to place the only outlet they had to the Atlantic under the control of such a government? When the issue had become thus clear, many who had hitherto sided with the majority fell out. The first to drop away were the few English-speaking radicals who had supported Papineau. Neilson, the Scotch printer, who had, to the serious injury of his business, stood by him through thick and thin, now convinced that it was not constitutional reform that had animated Papineau, withdrew from him. The Irish Roman Catholics, having no wish to live in a French Republic, refused their countenance any longer. French business men in the cities, seeing that loss of property might ensue, signed loyal addresses.

Acting under instructions from England every governor after Dalhousie strove to win over the disaffected. Abuses in administration were remedied, every request compatible with a continuance of British rule complied with. Kempt, a childish, simple-minded man, despite all he did to propitiate, declared when the Assembly was in session he felt as if sitting on a barrel of gunpowder. Papineau was offered a seat in the council that he might see it was not the assemblage of tyrants he described to the habitants. Aylmer openly carried favor with the bishop. Increase of population had compelled the old parishes to be divided in order that no cure have a flock too

large to minister to. The habitants of these new parishes could not understand how, in secular affairs, they were held to be inhabitants of the old parish, and there was confusion in title deeds and business misunderstandings. To end this Aylmer agreed to what his predecessors refused, who, indeed, had challenged the right of the bishop to erect even canonical parishes. A bill was submitted to the Assembly to legalize these new parishes for civil purposes also. The bill contained no provision for parishes that might in future be erected by the bishop, it simply dealt with the parishes that were in existence at the date of its passage, and when the commissioners had defined the new parishes, and they were proclaimed civil parishes, the Act expired. Despite this limitation, the measure had a deep bearing on future legislation, inasmuch as it made British law an accompaniment of ecclesiastical power, the civil giving force and efficacy to the ecclesiastical, the combination that has wrought harm to the Protestant farmers.

The British party considered the policy of conciliation had been carried too far, and were loud in denouncing the governors, whom they blamed for currying to the priests and Papineau. That party included a sprinkling of as blatant blusterers as ever embarrassed a government. They had a monopoly of all loyalty, and knew just what ought to be done. The British bayonet, sir, and the hangman's rope was their prescription, and so these loud-voiced men went on from day to day disgracing the English name and making the situation worse than there was need for, and the task of the governor of the day more difficult. Behind these blusterers stood the solid worth of the township farmers and the mercantile class, the true British party, silent yet ready, patient yet resolute.

It is of the nature of all agitations, that when they reach a certain degree of impetus, the leaders lose control, and instead of guiding are driven. It was so with Papineau. He had to go on. Casting

aside all pretences about the constitution, he formally repudiated allegiance to Britain and declared his intention of forming an independent State, to be under the protection of the great Republic to the south. In order to strike the nation of shopkeepers in their vital part, the use of all goods of British make was to be shunned, and not a sixpence was to go from French-Canadian pockets to England. The Irish boycott was thus anticipated by seventy years. Only goods made in Canada, or that had been smuggled from the States, were to be bought. The smuggling of goods from the United States was declared to be perfectly honorable. The few statutes passed by the Imperial Parliament, such as the tenures bill, were declared of non-effect. Steps were taken to organize local courts with judges elected by the people, a military organization was outlined, and a tax was levied to pay expenses, under the name of Papineau tribute. All this was possible everywhere outside the townships, and the creation of an independent government went on without hindrance in the parishes which were exclusively French. The meetings were held on Sunday at the church doors after mass, and were so enthusiastic and unanimous, that the habitants believed their purpose was achieved, and all that was needed was a combined effort, on a set day, to drive out the English bureaucrats. It was an anxious time for those in office at Quebec and Montreal, and had it not been for the secret understanding with the bishops there would have been more cause for anxiety, but their aid was better than a reinforcement of a dozen regiments. Of what was passing in the parishes the authorities had full and accurate information, so that where danger menaced they knew how to meet it. A secret rising was now as impossible as a united one, and without a united rising there was not a ghost of success. Though Papineau knew the priests had turned against him, so confident was he that the Province was under his control he gave little weight to

what they might do, and continued in the belief that, once he gave the signal, there would be simultaneous risings from Gaspé to Soulanges. He gave the signal. There was a sputtering response from a few localities only, and these confined to the vicinity of Montreal. More striking proof of the influence of the priests cannot be found. Here was a man who, for a generation, had been to the French-Canadians the embodiment of their patriotic aspirations, who had been swayed in thousands by his eloquence, who had been wrought by him to a pitch of enthusiastic fervor they have ever since reached, yet, when the black robes passed the order, they turned their backs upon him and paid no heed to his call. Outside of half a dozen parishes there was not a ripple of excitement: the entire Quebec district slept in undisturbed placidity. Bowed to the earth by chagrin, baffled in the aspirations of a lifetime by the priests, Papineau fled to the United States. To add to the bitterness of his cup, there was an episode which showed him what might have been. The priest of St. Eustache was a rare exception to his class, for he was a Frenchman first, a Catholic afterwards. He dared to disobey the command of his bishop, rallied his people, and led them in fight. Had other priests done likewise, Papineau would have been the first President of the Republic of Quebec, for Colborne, in the face of a general rising, would have been helpless. He had only 5,000 soldiers to grapple with 400,000 people. When, after eight years' exile, Papineau returned, he had no use for the priests. At a great age, with death approaching, he rejected all suggestions to call in one. Their treason to his cause he could not forget nor forgive.

The Government, believing all danger was past, dealt leniently with the defeated. After a brief term in jail, even leaders were allowed to go home. The anxiety on the part of the authorities to conciliate, to let bygones be bygones, was so apparent that the ignorant among the disaffected attributed the course

taken to fear and weakness. Several of those let go at once began to plot for a second rising. In this they were encouraged by their compatriots who had fled to the United States, and who, received with open arms by the Americans, sent word they would get substantial support from their new-found friends. From Ogdensburg to Derby Line a secret society was organized to assist with men and arms a second rebellion. The secret was so well-kept that the authorities were unaware of what was going on until the eve of the outbreak, which had been fixed for the 3rd of November, 1838. On the evening of that day, the habitants who were in the plot assembled in groups and began a house-to-house visitation of the English-speaking farmers. Doors were burst in and the men of the family, often found in bed, taken prisoners and marched to some chosen central point. Not all were taken prisoners; a Yorkshireman, who resisted, was murdered. Next morning the habitants organized to advance on the English settlements too large to be dealt with by surprise. The rising was not general, and was confined to the territory lying between Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence, where the English-speaking settlers were mostly Scotch or Ulster Irish, and who rallied at once to meet the advancing habitants, who hesitated, fell back, and instead of attacking, took up the defensive. There were isolated skirmishes, invariably ending in the flight of the deluded habitants. The chief stand was made at the head of the Richelieu. There the habitants gathered, awaiting the arrival of the body of Americans who had promised to come and help them. When scarce three-score had come, and they were waiting for the arrival of more, a combined body of Irish Protestants and Catholics, with a few Scots, appeared, and at once charged them. The habitants and their American sympathizers fled across the border, which was close behind them, leaving nine dead. The best showing was made at a small village

north of where this skirmish took place. There several hundred habitants assembled and had everything their own way for nigh a week. A constitution was adopted, the State of Lower Canada was duly proclaimed as a free and independent Republic, with Dr. Nelson as interim president. There was a great parade when the flag of the new Republic, white with two blue stars, was hoisted on the village flagpole, and saluted amid shouts and firing of muskets. Two officers from old France drilled the habitants, who were armed with rifles received from the United States. Hearing that a body of English-speaking farmers were posted in a stone church not far distant, it was resolved to rout them and then capture St. Johns. Out from Lacolle marched 1,200 habitants, of whom at least 800 had muskets, the others pikes. Unawed by the approaching host, the 60 men who had crowded inside the little Methodist church, and the 150 behind such cover as the graveyard afforded, prepared to fight. A memorable struggle ensued. For two hours the little band held their own, when, hearing a report of an approaching reinforcement, panic seized the habitants, and they fled.

The second rebellion was over. I have narrated its leading features at some length, because it was put down by the English-speaking farmers, unaided by regular troops. Those who hold the rebellion in Quebec of 1837-8 was a struggle for constitutional freedom, have to account for Scotch radicals, many of whom had fled to Canada to escape prosecution, having been foremost in fighting the habitants. As Lord Sydenham wrote in 1840, the people of Ontario "quarrelled for realities, for political opinions, but in Quebec there is no such thing as political opinion—"they have only one feeling, a hatred of race." The rebellion was the climax of a prolonged effort by the French to regain control of a Province which had once been theirs, which had been taken from them by violence, and to establish it as an independent Republic. It was that, and nothing else.

The terms on which the priests agreed with the British authorities to assist in defeating Papineau and his associates included recognition of the division of the Province into two dioceses, Quebec and Montreal, with Lartigue as bishop of Montreal, bestowing on the bishops authority to create new parishes and rearrange old ones, and to give to the Sulpicians the three seigniories they owned before the conquest. Sir John Colborne honorably carried out the bargain. An order-in-council had recognized the new bishop, and ordinances were passed giving the desired power regarding parishes and conveying the seigniories to the Sulpicians. By a special Act of the Imperial Parliament the governor and council were empowered to adopt any legislation necessary to carry on the business of the country; Durham made slight use of the Act, nothing more than was absolutely required. On the other hand, Colborne, or rather those behind him, took advantage of the opportunity to enact a mass of legislation, much of it of an admirable nature, and all remarkably well-drafted. There was a limitation, however, to these Acts adopted by a small and irresponsible body of councillors. They only held good to the end of 1842, when it was expected the new Legislature would be organized, and which would ratify these ordinances.

At the conquest, a question that had to be settled was: What is to be done with monastic institutions? The course determined upon by General Amherst at the occupation of Montreal, was that followed by the Imperial authorities for three-quarters of a century. The nuns were left as they were. The property of the male orders was taken possession of by the Crown, provision being made for the maintenance of those dispossessed until their death. The rule was promptly applied to the Jesuits and Recollets, but with some forbearance to the Sulpicians, as being a teaching body, and useful to carry out Carleton's plan of a native clergy. They were, however, forbidden to

receive novices, or to reinforce their number from abroad, so that governors considered it merely a question of time when the last of those under vows would die, when the Crown would enter quietly into full possession of their property. This is what happened with the Jesuits and Recollets. The Sulpicians were saved by the French revolution. Among the refugees were members of the mother-house in Paris. Pitying their plight, they were permitted by the governor to find a home with the aged survivors of the order in Montreal. These also would have become extinct, and the Crown entered into possession of its long-deferred heritage, had not a second revolution rent France. The Sulpicians, alarmed by the rising in 1830, a second time fled from Paris to Montreal, and were again permitted to take up their abode in the pleasant buildings at Montreal. All this was illegal. The Sulpician order was condemned by the Imperial law; the members representing it in Canada were all of French birth and citizenship and could not legally hold real estate. All the same, these priests of old France, expelled from their native land, given a home out of pity for their misfortunes, no sooner were fairly settled than they claimed to be owners of what legally belonged to their benefactors. To make that out, they would have had to prove that there was such a thing in English law as right of succession in monastic orders, which it would be absurd to try, so they sought their end by other means. They made friends with the agitators, and got them to take up their cause. How this came about needs a word of explanation. When Amherst took possession of Montreal it was a miserable collection of log houses, worth less than the buildings of the church which towered above them. All told, when the English passed its walls, Montreal had not three thousand inhabitants. The island was only cleared in patches, few settlers being located north of the mountain. The Sulpicians were seigniors of the island of Montreal, and drew its rents,

which were small. The coming of British rule made a marvellous change. The paltry town, whose chief characteristic was its monastic institutions, became commercial. Its trade grew by leaps and bounds. It was the same outside the town limits. The crash of falling trees was heard, clearances were made, and the influence of Scotch farming began to tell in the productiveness of crops. All this prosperity enhanced the value of the island as a seignior, and the revenue of a few hundred dollars a year grew into tens of thousands. A lawyer of the time who investigated the Seminary's affairs, reported that the fines on sales of property put into the priests' pockets the assessed value of the city every forty years. When governors had difficulty in meeting payment of current expenses, owing to the Assembly refusing to vote supplies, it was proposed the Government complete the transfer of the property of the Sulpicians, and, by using its revenue for civil service salaries, become independent of the Assembly. Papineau, who cared naught for the Sulpicians, saw the danger to his cause of such a move, and prevented it by making their case his own, and he fiercely denounced all attempts to disturb the Sulpicians. He measured not the selfishness nor the ingratitude of these ecclesiastics. When they had profited by his exertions in the abandonment of the plan contemplated, and saw the opportunity of making friends with the Government by betraying the cause Papineau represented, they did so. The price agreed on, was confirming the Sulpicians in the property they occupied. Their influence was suddenly thrown against Papineau and his followers, and every movement revealed to the authorities, with the result already recorded. So highly did Sir John Colborne estimate the services of these Sulpician priests, that he hurried to fulfil his part of the bargain. The echoes of the rebellion had not subsided, Montreal jail was still filled with untried prisoners, when he got an ordinance-in-council passed vesting in them

absolutely the estates they claimed. This ordinance the home authorities disallowed as outside the powers of the council. However, when the first union parliament met in 1841, among the bills it passed was one conveying to the Sulpicians the property they coveted. It was valuable then, it is incomparably more valuable to-day. The advent of Protestants in Quebec, while it ended its days as a purely Papal preserve, enriched the priests who resented their appearance. The skill and enterprise of Protestants have made the island of Montreal the richest spot in Canada, and every square foot of it worth more than an acre when under French rule. Out of the increase of values the priests of St. Sulpice have reaped what they never earned, and are the richest corporation in the Dominion. The treasure-heaps, accumulated by monks and nuns out of the unearned increment due to the trade of Protestants in town and city, form a factor in supplying the money needed in the removal of Protestants from the rural sections.

The ordinance regarding parishes was passed at the same time. The preamble declared that it was necessary for the quiet and happiness of her Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects to make permanent and efficient provision for the erection of parishes. What was then enacted is still, in substance, the law in force. The Act was retroactive, making valid all the bishops had done in the past.

When the new Legislature met in 1841, although among its first acts was confirmation of the ordinance conveying seigniories to the Sulpicians, it was not so ready in re-enacting the ordinance regarding parishes. A bill to do so was introduced in 1843 and not reported. Three years later it was again submitted and not proceeded with, and in 1849 it was dropped in its initial stage. It was not until Baldwin and Lafontaine were in office that the bill was hurried through without attracting attention. It declared the ordinance of 1839 valid, amended its provisions in

many particulars, and, despite the limitation as to its duration, confirmed all that had been done up to the adoption of the new Act. The Act received the governor's assent on the 10th of August, 1850, so that for nine years the bishops had been erecting parishes illegally. It is right to place the responsibility of the existence of the parish system in Quebec where it belongs. It was the help of Baldwin and his Ontario followers that restored it and gave it new life.

CHAPTER VII.

Before and After Confederation

The Act of 1841, uniting Ontario and Quebec, is generally spoken of as the result of Lord Durham's advice. This is not correct. His report shows that he was convinced the difficulties in carrying on the government of Quebec arose from allowing it privileges inconsistent with British institutions, and his advice was that Quebec be brought into harmony with the rest of the Empire—with the laws and language of England and with a government that would see it done. To help in bringing this about he favored union with Ontario. He wanted a complete union—a merging of the people of the two Provinces into one, with one law and one administration of law, no discrimination to be allowed on account of faith or origin, but an effort to be made, so far as legislation could effect it, of assimilation by the destruction of all legal differences. This was the kernel of his plan. It was rejected by the framers of the Act of 1841, who left the priests with their privileges and provided for a restricted union with a joint legislature. It was a forced union, even on that basis, resented alike by French and English. The French, knowing its purpose was to keep them in check, naturally detested it; the English of Ontario did not like an alien people having a voice in ruling them. The first meeting of the members was like a mixture of oil and water—together yet apart. That meeting took place in

Kingston, the city identified with Sir John Macdonald, and to him the gathering was one of lively interest. He sketched that first meeting in his after years—the French members clustered in a group, sullen, suspicious of every proposal made in the proceedings, resenting all approaches, standing on the defensive: the English-speaking members careless of their presence, if not contemptuous. He made friends with the solid French contingent, sore from recent defeat and forced into a union it was their constant study to break. When, three years later, he became a member of the Assembly, he began the plan he had contemplated, that of getting into power through an alliance with them. Others besides him saw the opportunity, which was, indeed, apparent. In any deliberative gathering where votes tell, a sufficient number of members who stand aloof from their fellows and are united on one purpose, can, eventually, win control. The Ontario members were split into factions, the English-speaking members from Quebec voted with whoever controlled the patronage, so it came the solid French phalanx held the balance of power. In it, after the first election, there was an appearance of division. Remembering the cause of the collapse of the rebellion, many young men who had taken part in it held the priest ought to have no voice in politics, and their views, advocated in two papers, *L'Avenir* and *Le Pays*, provoked those who differed into preaching absolute submission to the clergy. The one was styled in reproach at first, for it was the appellation of the revolutionists of France, by the name rouge, the others came to be known as bleus. As this difference has disappeared, the rouge of our day vying with the bleu in doing the will of Rome, it does not concern the situation of the Protestant minority. What does concern, that minority is, that as a consequence of the prolonged agitation that ended in rebellion, the idea was firmly ingrained in the minds of the habitants that Quebec was theirs by right and all others were intruders.

Each session of the new legislature made it more plain, that the very object which the union of the two Provinces was designed to bring about—control of the priest-directed element—had been lost, and the union as a remedy for the evils it was designed to cure, was a disastrous failure. The parliamentary history of Canada between 1841 and 1867 is, in essence, a narrative of how, step by step, Quebec obtained dominance. The first notable advance was in 1845, when a petition to the Imperial Government was carried, asking that French be authorized as an official language. In 1848, when the re-election of Sir Allan McNab was proposed as Speaker of the Assembly, Robt. Baldwin objected, because McNab did not speak French. He nominated A. N. Morin, was seconded by Lafontaine, and McNab was rejected. The Imperial Government hesitated over declaring French an official language, and it was not until 1849 that it was formally announced the Union Act had been amended to that effect. This was only one of several changes the French members obtained by bargaining with their English colleagues. The supremacy of Quebec, however, was not absolute until Sir John Macdonald and Cartier took office on the understanding that no bill affecting Quebec should become law unless supported by a majority of its members. Such a basis of action virtually dissolved the Act of 1841.

The priesthood now saw their opportunity to obtain the power they had long desired, but had despaired of getting, and which they certainly never would have got but for the union of 1841. The Quebec Act of 1774 confined the parish system to the seigniories. The territory within which it should exist was thus definitely fixed. Wherever land was held in fief, the priest could tax and tithe. The moment he crossed the boundary-line of a seigniorie into land held in free and common socage, he could claim no more privilege than a Methodist preacher. This was galling to the hierarchy, who desired to throw the net of the parish

system over every acre of Quebec. The seigniories were overcrowded, the land had been divided and subdivided until the majority of the habitants were in poverty, yet they were in sight of unconceded lands into which their priests would not let them go because they would be free of the parish system. Lord Sydenham, in the summer of 1840, made a three days' trip up the valley of the Richelieu. Writing a friend he remarks: "The counties bordering the Richelieu were "formerly the garden of Lower Canada, the soil rich "to a degree, but they are now used up completely by "the abominable mode of cultivation pursued by the "habitants, and present a melancholy picture; the "population rapidly increasing, and the people unwilling to quit their neighborhood and settle on new "lands until actually starved out." The Act of William IV. related solely to parishes in the seigniories, the ordinance passed went no further as to territory. The color of authority the bishops have for extending their sway is to be found in the statutes passed between 1841 and 1867. They got more: they obtained, for the first time, legislative authority for their organizations. Monastic orders by the dozen received acts of incorporation, followed by grants from the public treasury and the public domain, under the guise of charity and education. Among these bills was one fraught with disastrous consequences. It was an innocent appearing bill, professing to incorporate a new college in Montreal. Just a bill to add to the educational facilities of that growing city, declared its promoters, and none of the Ontario members had wit enough to inquire who the persons were who asked to be incorporated. They were Jesuits, proscribed by law, and who, in this cunning manner, regained, after the lapse of ninety years, a legal footing in Canada. But for the passage of that bill, incorporating St. Mary's College, it is not likely the Jesuits would have ever obtained legal recognition in Canada. When, in 1887, the Federal parliament was asked to incorporate

the Jesuit Society, many members revolted at the proposal. Sir John Thompson, then Minister of Justice, declared the bill was merely a form, for it only recognized what the legislature had done in 1854. By granting a charter to St. Mary's College in 1854 Canada incorporated its faculty, who were Jesuits. He was asked, Why do they now need further incorporation, and answered evasively. The act he supported covered an even deeper design than the innocent appearing act of 1854.

In any country where there is a privileged class, it necessarily follows there must be a class that is discriminated against. There is no escaping this social law. Whatever is given to a favored portion of the population, places those who are outside of it at a disadvantage. It is a self-apparent axiom, that in any country where there is not equality of rights, there is no true freedom, for some class must be suffering wrong. To give privileges to a select few, is to do injustice to the many. Of all forms of inequality the most objectionable is singling out a particular church for special favors, because doing so is not merely repugnant to our innate sense of justice, but offends the conscience. In the session of 1841 and those that followed, the members of Ontario had an opportunity of vindicating the great principle upon which freedom rests, by framing a system of government which would have given equal rights. Instead of doing so, they were false to the principles which they professed, and, for the sake of personal or party advantage, sold their principles to secure the votes of delegates who held their mandate from their bishops. In the history of self-governing countries, there is nothing more disgraceful than the course pursued by the Ontario members from 1841 to 1867.

At the conquest the Church of Rome entered a condition of sufferance; its next step was a power to be propitiated for the sake of the favors it could bestow. It now blossomed into supremacy. During

the last seventeen years of the union the bishops got what they sought and in Quebec their church was buttressed by statutes and enriched by government donations by the votes of Ontario members. One member realized the extent of the evil, but failed to perceive its cure. The remedy of George Brown, representation by population, was the old delusion in a new guise of overcoming the difficulty that arose from Quebec by force of numbers, instead of plucking the difficulty out by the roots. Had representation by population been adopted it would have failed, for it would have been found that, from their solidarity, the Quebec members would still have held the balance of power, and continued to rule Ontario. The lakelet may absorb a river, but will be governed by its ebb and flow and its waters be dyed by it. Only a sea can assimilate what rolls into its bosom. There is no present prospect that the population of the Dominion will ever be so great or of such a character, that Quebec will be lost in its numbers and interests. Those who say there is no call for present action; if we wait until the Northwest attain its growth, the members it will send to Ottawa will dispose of the difficulties arising from Quebec; may realize they are mistaken if they study the experience of the past. In 1841 it was confidently expected the Ontario members would have resisted the influence that was making Quebec papal: they did not. The issue has to be faced squarely, and the sooner the less friction. Had Brown traced the wrongs he deplored to their source, he would have applied himself to effecting in Quebec what he helped to do in Ontario, namely, complete separation of Church and State. Instead, he spent his strength in advocating an increase in the number of members for Ontario, which was no remedy, for there was no probability of the new members being any more resolute in grappling with Clericalism than those then sitting. The government was carried on with difficulty and by miserable devices of shifty politicians. Sandfield MacDonald's

remedy, double majority, was the device of a coward, who, instead of facing a difficulty, evades it. The members of each Province were to decide bills affecting their respective Provinces, and when there was not a majority of the members concerned in favor of such a bill, it was to be dropped, even if a majority of the united house was in its favor. When a crucial case arose, MacDonal'd showed the cloven foot. The Catholic bishops pressed for Separate Schools in Ontario. It was a bill that concerned Ontario alone, and a majority of its members voted against it. MacDonal'd refused to apply his own principle to the case, and Separate Schools were forced on Ontario by the votes of the Quebec members. No greater calamity has befallen Ontario.

At the core of all wrong there is an antidote. Wherever any selfish interest moulds a legislature to its will, whether a combination of manufacturers, railway projectors, or a Church, the members it wins to its support become corrupt. In doing violence to their professed convictions by uniting in the proposals of the Quebec majority, the Ontario members lowered their moral standard and became self-seekers. Sir John Macdonald, though the most careless of men about his own pecuniary advantage, knew how to win support by exercising the potent lever of self-interest. Whether in the bar-room of the House, slapping members on the back, joking and telling lewd stories, or on the floor replying to grave arguments with gestures, quirks, and jeers that raised the laugh, he was master of his following. Cartier seconded him effectively by using the Quebec votes as a bludgeon to defeat opposition. His shout, "Call in the members," ended many a discussion. All went swimmingly until the venality of members turned the moral sense of Ontario against the Macdonald-Cartier combination, and its candidates could not secure re-election. Then there was a deadlock—the end of the union of 1841 had come. There was no questioning as to the cause of the deadlock,

it was admittedly the thrusting of the will of the Quebec hierarchy on Ontario. To take steps that, for the future, that hierarchy should have no hand in the government of the country would have been the remedy of statesmen. The party politicians to whom the solving of the difficulty fell were intent alone in getting the machinery of the State again in motion—the Conservatives to enjoy a new lease of office, the Liberals, long shut out, were eager for a coalition, that they might share in honors and patronage. For several weeks George Brown had it in his power to force on the electorate a decision as to separation of Church and State: instead he paltered with the greatest tactician Canada has known, and was circumvented.

CONFEDERATION.

There was in progress at the time a conference of representatives of the Maritime Provinces to merge their three legislatures into one. Sir John suggested a larger union, that Quebec and Ontario be included. The idea fascinated both Conservatives and Liberals, and was agreed to. It was only when the form of the new government came to be considered differences arose. In 1866 the experience of the American republic was fresh in the minds of all. The two great lessons to public men were, first, the impossibility of having a stable government where a moral evil exists; second, the danger of divided authority. Had slavery not existed there would have been no war in 1861: had the Federal Government been stronger, it could have nipped the revolt in the bud. The latter fact had deeply impressed Sir John Macdonald and he was for a strong central authority, and that would be assured by having a legislative union. In this he had the support of his English-speaking followers, while Cartier and his colleagues would not hear of it. They had long conferences with their bishops, and the ultimatum delivered was, whatever the other provinces might do, Quebec must have a government of her own.

They insisted, writes one who knew of what passed at these secret meetings, "that the Catholics of Quebec "must be conceded the right to govern themselves by "truly Catholic laws." Sir John Macdonald stood out for a legislative union, with guarantees to Quebec, until he saw that was impossible. The demand of the bishops for provincial autonomy appealed to the office-hunters of both parties. Why should each province not preserve its integrity, with their multiplicity of offices, and add to them the patronage of the central government that is to be created? Instead of the provincial governments being blotted out, with their lieutenant-governors, cabinet ministers, members and departmental officials, they will all continue, and to them will be added the positions that the Federal system will bring into existence. Cartier consequently found allies among the Protestant politicians for his provincial autonomy, and a constitution on that basis was prepared. Sir John Macdonald and those who shared his views, comforted themselves with the belief that such a complex and expensive system would not work, and that it would eventually be abandoned for legislative union, giving to each province a magnified type of county council to attend to purely local matters and its own public works. At the consecration of a church at St. Johns, Que., Cartier presented a copy of the proposed constitution to Bishop Bourget, who considered it with his confreres, and finally sent it to the propaganda at Rome, which returned it with its endorsement. A constitution relating to British colonies had to receive the Papal stamp before it went before the legislatures of the people affected. The constitution withheld from the direct vote of the people of Canada was sent abroad for a foreigner to consider! The French-Canadian already quoted from states, "Had it not been for Quebec there would have "been no provincial legislatures, as all the other provinces, except Quebec, being Protestant in majority,

“one parliament would have been sufficient for all. Quebec dictated the constitution of 1867.”

In proof that this is a correct statement, it is well to quote the testimony of Sir John Macdonald. There are many so-called “Fathers of Confederation”: he alone is entitled to whatever honor the name confers. It was his fertility of resource, his astuteness in seeing what was possible with the conditions that existed, his dexterity in handling the sort of men he had to work with, that effected the passage of the B. N. A. Act. In 1872 there was a long debate in the House of Commons over Mr. Costigan’s motion that the Act of the New Brunswick Legislature regarding schools be disallowed. During the discussion Sir John declared, “I believe we might have had a legislative union instead of a Federal union if it had not been for the province of Quebec. They insisted on a legislature having the power to act as they pleased. The Lower Canadians drew themselves up and said, If the constitution were not so drawn up as to give them the power to protect beyond a doubt their institutions, their religion, their language, and their laws, in which they had so great pride, they would never consent to a union, and if we had not agreed to that, we should not now have had the Dominion of Canada.”

It was agreed to copy the American system, to substitute a federal for the existing legislative union. Ontario and Quebec were to separate, each to be autonomous and self-governing as regards local affairs, with a Federal House to deal with matters common to them and the other provinces who had agreed to join. That the old difficulty would spring up in course of time under the new system was self-apparent, but it would not be in the day of the framers of the constitution of 1867 and a future generation could grapple with it.

There were no compunctions as to leaving the English-speaking people of Quebec to the rule of the majority. Protests from the minority against their

abandonment were treated as the expressions of bigots. It was represented on behalf of the Quebec majority that there was nothing to fear, that the Protestants would be the objects of their most considerate care. McGee scouted the idea that the Protestant minority would be in any way injured. He declared they would be the pets of the majority, the spoiled children of the new Dominion, that they would be smothered with kindness. Others, whom such gush did not blind, thought the minority could not suffer with a preponderating Protestant influence in the Federal House, while there were those who looked on Confederation as a temporary stage, bound to end in a legislative union. The representatives of the minority gave little opposition. Party allegiance constrained part to silence; others were bribed by promises of office. There was a great hullabaloo about loyalty, which blinded many. It was loyal to support the proposed Act of Confederation. Those who stood against it were branded as annexationists at heart, a singular accusation, seeing the new constitution was copied from the Republic. There were protests from isolated bodies of electors, but they were unheeded. The one danger to the eyes of many was the educational. Make our schools secure and we will go in for Confederation, was the cry of many. Sir A. T. Galt satisfied those people by getting a clause inserted that their schools were to be continued as they were, and that should any complaint arise of invasion of this provision appeal could be made to the Federal authorities. In the proposal of this clause the Church of Rome saw her opportunity. If, said her representatives in the conference, we concede this, we must have equal security for the schools of the minority in Ontario. The schools of the Quebec minority were Public Schools, the schools of the Ontario minority were the schools of a Church, there was no parallel between them, yet the demand to place them on an equality was successful, and just because the English

people of Quebec prayed for protection against the possibility of having their free, open, non-sectarian schools changed into confessional schools, the price of that protection was that the people of Ontario should have fastened on them, for all time, so far as the B. N. A. Act could do it, the Separate Schools that had been, in the first place, imposed upon them by Quebec votes. They who speak of the framers of Confederation as statesmen, may take this as one instance of several, of how their political idols were made to kiss the Papal rod.

That the Provinces could have continued much longer distinct was impossible. With separate tariffs, no method to promote intercourse between themselves, no means to combine in making representations abroad on questions jointly affecting them, or to unite in the redeeming of the Northwest from savagery, a union of the Provinces had to come. The pity is, it should have been accomplished at the time and with the object it immediately served. A constitutional deadlock had arisen between Quebec and Ontario, caused by the clashing of Church and State. The remedy, the removal of all semblance of connection between the two, the politicians of the day would not face. They evaded the difficulty for the time being, by resorting to a union of all the Provinces. Confederation was supported by the leaders of the two parties in Quebec and Ontario as a device to leave the connection between Church and State as it was, partially releasing Ontario from the grip of the hierarchy while strengthening its hold on Quebec. Confederation prolonged the life of an evil, the meddling of the Church of Rome with the Government of the country; an evil which ought to have been dealt with in 1866, and which, assuredly, will yet have to be dealt with, for it is inconceivable that a free people will continue to submit to their government being subject to the influence of any church; that cardinal, archbishop or ablegate has to be consulted, and his views deferred to when a ques-

tion comes before parliament in which the priests claim a voice. The right of the people to have their affairs managed by a parliament and administered by an executive, free from clerical dictation, is self-apparent. In copying the American plan of union, the framers of the Act of 1867 did not base it upon equal rights. An article forbidding the Federal Parliament and the legislatures to give preference to any church would have ensured peace and permanence. The United States constitution carefully avoided the subject of negro slavery; doing so resulted in the greatest civil war the world has known. Those who drafted the Act of Confederation as carefully refrained from touching the supremacy of Rome. A generation to come will know the consequences. The commercial advantages of Confederation have been great, so great that they have blinded people to the fact that it was a cowardly evasion of right, and carries in it the seeds of future trouble.

The parliamentary debate on Confederation was, strictly speaking, not a debate. The resolutions for Confederation were placed before the members to be adopted as they stood. Where amendment was impossible it was absurd to debate. The advocates of the resolutions found opportunity to explain why they favored them, those who were not satisfied could say so without hope of changing a single word in the document they had been, in mockery, summoned to consider. Few of the speeches contained in the bulky volume which professes to report the debate were delivered. Members wrote what they would like to go on record, and, after speaking a short time, passed their MS. to the reporters. In the discussion over a measure they were incompetent to amend, one true voice was raised. Col. Haultain, member for Peterboro', asked whether it was just to ignore the aversion of the Protestants residing in the townships of Quebec to Confederation, because it would place them at the mercy of an intolerant hierarchy. Their suspicions

and fears found confirmation in the encyclical letter of the Pope which had been just received. In the syllabus, which accompanied it, of errors to be condemned, was "that emigrants to Catholic countries "should have freedom of worship." He who spoke thus is the head of the controlling influence in Quebec, and the fears, therefore, of the minority were not unreasonable, when called upon to put themselves into the power of the hierarchy, for, to them, that was what Confederation meant. The Colonel was jeered by members who had declined committing themselves to the support of Confederation until the scheme had been submitted to the Pope and received his approval. The petition to the Imperial authorities to pass the Act of Confederation was carried by 91 to 33.

CONFEDERATION GAVE QUEBEC WHAT PAPI- NEAU SOUGHT.

Confederation bestowed on Quebec substantially what Papineau had sought. She became an independent, self-governing Province, having a legislature of her own, her own civil service, her own cabinet, her own governor. In every regard, outside of inter-provincial relations, she was not to be held accountable. The concessions dazzled her public men who proceeded as if the glories with which their imaginations had invested New France were to be revived. An imitation of the court of Frontenac was established at Spencerwood, the Lieutenant-Governor was styled his Excellency, and there were pretensions heard and ceremonies witnessed that bespoke exultation and satisfaction. To the minority there was also a revival of epithets long unheard, and the distinction of rebellion times between the children of the soil and intruders was again drawn. The assumptions of the laity were not to be compared, however, with those of the clergy. Confederation had restored to them greater plenitude of power than they had enjoyed when Louis was King, and they used it to the full.

Sir A. T. Galt, who speedily realized the mistake he had made in supporting Confederation, in a pamphlet summarized the dangers which menaced the minority, instancing the assertion of ecclesiastical over civil authority, clerical interference with elections, placing the ban on free speech and on the press, that divine assistance in teaching whatever touches on faith and morals descends from the Pope to bishops, priests, and religieuses. As a politician he had been shocked by a united condemnation on the part of the bishops of Liberalism, by priests being upheld in contested elections who had denounced individuals as guilty of a grave sin in voting for candidates who had not received their approval, and especially by a judge laying down as law that as priests belonged to a spiritual order they were above the law and beyond the jurisdiction of the courts. There were decisions recognizing canon law, and burial was refused in the parish cemetery to the body of a man because he had been member of a society which had declared for the principle of religious toleration. Public men made it their boast, that their obedience to the bishops was implicit and unreserved, and, in pleading before electors, held this up as a claim for support, rival candidates competing on the hustings in depreciating each others loyalty to the bishops. It was a period of distressful explanations by Liberals and of exultant boastings by Conservatives. A new style of journalism was developed, which was happily characterized as more Catholic than the Pope. In this period of reactionary effervescence the Castors rose into prominence. A sign of the times was the annotator of the Quebec statutes putting in the marginal notes "the decrees of the Pope are binding." A bill was submitted to the legislature to place in all courts of justice a large crucifix. To swear a witness he was to "lift his right hand in front of the crucifix and place "his left hand on the book of the evangelists." The bill was in a fair way to pass, having got its second reading, when the outrage on conscience, in compelling

Protestants to take oath in such a way, became apparent to the ministers who caused Mr. Lemieux to withdraw it. The subserviency of the legislature to the bishops was complete. Those parts of the public service, the care of lunatics, of those lacking in one or more of the bodily perceptions, reformatories, refuges, were handed over to nuns and monks, and grants of money and land made to these organizations which not only thus ceased, to be public institutions, acceptable to all classes, but passed from the control of the legislature, for, by virtue of their vows and ordination, nuns and monks, professing to be of a heavenly class, do not recognize the superintendence of laymen. A striking instance of a legislature calling itself British surrendering its sovereign and exclusive right to make laws, was shown in regard to a bill which the Government had brought down to amend the Education Act. The Archbishop of Quebec sent for the Premier, expressed his disapproval and indignation at its being introduced without consulting him. The bill was hastily dropped, and the promise made, which is still observed, that no measure affecting education should be introduced without being first submitted to him and obtaining his approval. The law was so changed as to place education under the control of the bishops. The council of public instruction was reconstructed so as to be composed of ecclesiastics and an equal number of laymen. As at any meeting an ecclesiastic may not attend he can send a substitute, the lay members, who have no privilege of alternates, are always in a minority. Thus the educational system, by one fell swoop, was given into the hands of the bishops, the legislature divesting itself of what it defines in the Act as part of the civil service; handing over to ecclesiastics this important function, with control of the expenditure of the public money for school and college. Additional instances could be added of the subserviency of the legislature, but all, even those of de Boucherville's Government, were eclipsed in 1888. Bishop Bourget

invited the general of the Jesuits to renew the tradition of his order in Canada, and, in 1842, he sent six fathers, who proceeded to take steps to found a college, which resulted in the rearing of a large building in Montreal. Whoever cares to look over a parliamentary guide will see how many members, both at Ottawa and Quebec, received their training in St. Mary's College, and will realize how deeply, through the men imbued with its principles in that chosen seat, Jesuitism influences our politics, and shapes the destinies of the Dominion. These newly-arrived Jesuits and their successors described to their pupils the confiscation of the Jesuit estates by King George, at the conquest, as an act of spoliation, and claimed compensation ought to be made. None of the scores of young men who passed through their hands and rose high in the political world dared to propose that the Jesuits be compensated for the act of a British administration until Mercier appeared. Visiting Rome he made a proposition to the general of the Order of Jesus, which he afterwards submitted to the Pope, who ratified it. On the assembling of the legislature Mercier introduced a resolution to pay out of the public funds \$460,000 as compensation to the order for the estates the Crown had declared public property more than a century before, together with a portion of the seignior of Laprairie. In effect, this was equivalent to saying the British Government had been guilty of robbery, and the Catholics of Quebec having got the power into their own hands, were now going to make restitution. Never before did a legislature calling itself British so insult the Crown to which it paid lip-allegiance. There were members who staggered at the proposal. Mercier, before the vote was taken, asked the Catholic members to remember their allegiance was first to the head of their church, that the Pope had approved of the resolution before them, that the ecclesiastical authorities said the legislature were holding property that did not belong to them, and if

they did not make restitution the members of the government and of the legislature would find themselves subject to certain spiritual penalties. To the Protestant members his menace took another form. If any of them dared to oppose the motion they would not be re-elected. He would remind them of the fact that French-Canadians held the balance of power in the counties they represented, and they would crush, by their votes, any member who opposed the measure.

The resolution was adopted, and the bill founded upon it passed. To none of the guarantees for the rights of the minority, which he got inserted in the Act of Confederation, did Sir A. T. Galt attach the same weight as that of appeal to the Federal Parliament, which he described as their real palladium. It was now to be tested. The principle involved there was no mistaking—was it lawful for the Quebec Legislature to pass a bill whose preamble recognized the Pope's authority; was it lawful for the Quebec Legislature to tax Protestants to make a present to the Jesuit Society? An appeal was made to Ottawa to veto what had been done at Quebec. The appeal was rejected by 188 to 13. The money was paid, the land transferred, and the delusion about guarantees shattered.

EXTENSION TO THE TOWNSHIPS OF THE PARISH SYSTEM.

In the pamphlet in which Galt laid so much stress on the value of the guarantee embodied in the privilege of appeal to Ottawa, he remarked on the rapid decline of the political influence of the minority. Writing only nine years after Confederation, he pointed out that in only two of the constituencies always regarded as English could a candidate be elected independent of the Catholic vote. The change was due to the extraordinary activity shown by the priesthood in planting Catholic colonies in the townships, with assistance given out of the Gov-

ernment chest under the guise of repatriation. The Papal Zouaves were rewarded by a block of township land. In self-defence, leading men of Sherbrooke moved to encourage immigrants from the British Isles. How the attempt fared, may be judged by the experience of a company that had an option on a large tract of land in Compton. They applied for an Act of Incorporation. The Premier, Chapleau, told their representative the bill would not be allowed to pass unless the company consented to select Frenchmen as half of their prospective settlers. Missions were established in settlements where no priest had ever been; under the name of colonization, the legislature voted money to help the work. The nucleus gathered grew into congregations large enough to warrant the mission being erected into a parish, and before Confederation had been in force 25 years the townships were dotted with costly parish churches, convents, and colleges. There were a few Irish Catholic congregations, who had supported their priest and built their churches by voluntary contributions. On being required to pay tithe and building-tax they resisted. Their appeals to the courts were futile: on proof being led that their farms formed part of a parish proclaimed by the Lieutenant-Governor, judgment was given against them. Eventually these parishes were reduced to the level of those surrounding them, by substituting French priests for their Irish pastors. The Irish Catholics also resisted the introduction of Separate Schools. Their children had for two generations gone to the same school as their Protestant neighbors, but their resistance was in vain. Once started, the exodus of the English-speaking farmers went on in an increasing ratio. The fewer left in a concession, the more constrained were those who remained to follow. The beginning of the century found them outnumbered in every county south of the St. Lawrence, where, thirty years before, they were in a majority, and with their smaller numbers came

decline in political influence. The class of Protestants who got appointments or were chosen as representatives were of the kind who answered the purposes of the bishops better than the aspirants from their own colleges. The High Priest did not select a betrayer from among the orthodox.

From all purely farming countries there must necessarily be a constant passing-away of youth. To get farms young men have to go where land is still to be had free or at a cheap rate. Then there is always a class eager for change, ready to abandon the homestead and go where they believe conditions are better. Account also must be taken of the drift from the country to the city. These causes explain many departures from the townships, but after allowing for them, there is the undeniable fact that a large proportion of the changes are compulsory; that the old stock is being driven away. Had conditions remained as they were in 1850, or even seventeen years later, the farms of the townships would have remained in English hands.

The prime cause of the ejection of Protestants from the land is the parish system. This book has been written in vain if it has not demonstrated that the extension of that system to the townships is a tyrannical invasion of free territory, a defiance of royal proclamation and imperial statute; in one word, a usurpation. Consider what that system means to the English farmer. So long as a farm is owned by a Protestant the priest can levy no tithe; his trustees no building-tax. The moment it is sold to a Catholic, the priest draws tithe and the church wardens dues. See the motive here held out, apart from any religious or national consideration, to get the Protestant pushed aside. The patents issued by the Crown for the lands held in the townships read thus:

“Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, . . .
“have granted to John Doe the parcel of land herein

“described . . . to have and to hold . . .
“forever in free and common soccage, for fealty only,
“in like manner as lands are holden in free and com-
“mon soccage in that part of Great Britain called
“England.”

These deeds were signed for the Queen by the governor then in office, and they read the same from the time of George III. If language means anything, surely these deeds are conveyances to the farmer on the same conditions as if the land they specify was situated in England. Is land in England subject to be taxed by the Roman Catholic priesthood? If not, how can it be in the townships of Quebec? Is the transfer from the Crown not clear as to there being no ulterior condition? Can it be pretended, that the sovereign ever recognized that the Papal representatives in Quebec had a latent claim by which, some day, they could tithe and tax? Was the grant made with a servitude to Rome or as a free grant from a British sovereign to a British subject? Who ever considers the matter solely from reading the deeds by which the Crown granted, or sold, the farms in the townships of Quebec, can come to no other conclusion than that it was free land with no encumbrance or servitude. That was undeniably the intention of the British Government, for, in the Act of 1774, which restored French law within the seigniories, it is expressly stated:

“Nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be
“construed to extend, to any lands that have been, or
“hereafter shall be granted by his Majesty, his heirs
“and successors, to be holden in free and common
“soccage.”

This law has never been repealed, and stands as much in force to-day as any other section of the Quebec Act. If that section is not valid, is not now the law of the land, then neither is section 8, which Rome considers the legal bulwark of her privileges. There never was a clearer case of defiance of an Imperial statute than the erecting of parishes in the

townships. When the agitation led by Papineau reached the point that the Imperial Parliament appointed a select committee to take evidence as to the alleged grievances, Viger was called and gave much evidence as to the working of the Tenures Act, which formed part of his complaint. The committee, which included several eminent lawyers, in their report, spoke thus on this head:

“To the provision in the Act of 1774, providing that ‘in all matters of controversy relating to property and civil rights . . . be determined agreeably to the laws and customs of Lower Canada, there is a marked exception to this concession of French law, namely, ‘that it shall not apply to lands which had been or should be granted in free and common socage.’”

The report was adopted by the House of Commons. It proves that, fifty-four years after the Quebec Act was passed, when the townships had been erected and many of them thickly populated, the Imperial Parliament placed the interpretation on the Quebec Act that section eight no more applied to them than it did to Ontario. John J. McCord was appointed Judge for the townships in 1842, and from his close association with them knew their condition and circumstances thoroughly. In the spring of 1854 a case was brought before him, by the priest of Milton, in the St. Hyacinthe circuit court, of a habitant, a Catholic, who refused to pay tithes because his farm was township, not fief land, that his tenure was free and common socage, not seigniorial. The Judge upheld the plea. The only authority for tithes, said Judge McCord, was the Quebec Act, which restricted them to seigniorial land. The conclusion of the judge was, that such being “the present state of the law of the country, and there being a positive prohibition to the extension of the right of tithes to land held in free and common socage, I am bound to maintain” defendant’s plea. The law is the same now as in 1854, but the judges

are not the same. That summer the legislature passed the Act abolishing clergy reserves, because of the reason that it is "desirable to remove all semblance of "connection between Church and State." This merely reaffirmed the declaration of the Rectories Act, which laid down legal equality among all religious denominations. The statutes of the united Province have other passages of like nature. Thus Vic. 14-15, regarding the Catholic diocese of Montreal, a section reads: "Nothing in this Act shall be construed to "extend, or in any manner confer, any spiritual jurisdiction or ecclesiastical rights whatsoever upon any "bishop or other ecclesiastical person."

Seeing section 9 of the Quebec Act has not been repealed, and no statute can be quoted repealing it, how comes it that Rome has extended the parish system to the townships? How comes it that she is levying her tributes on a single acre outside fief lands? As well ask: How did she go on exercising the powers given her by the ordinance of 1839 during nine years after it had lapsed? Holding the balance of political influence, public men dare not challenge what she does: judges receive their interpretation of the law from their confessors. There has been so far only one Doutre.

THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

It is a loose way of speaking with many to say it is the educational difficulty that drives the Protestant farmers away. The primal cause is the parish system, of which Separate Schools are merely a consequence. Had Sir A. T. Galt, when acting as representative of the Quebec minority in the framing of Confederation, instead of asking guarantees for schools, simply demanded that the parish system be confined to the limits defined in the Quebec Act, the farmers in the townships would have been comparatively safe, for, if in them Rome could not levy taxes to build churches and parsonages and tithes to support priests, it would

have had no more interest to bring its forces to bear in expelling the Protestant farmers from the townships of Quebec than it has in meddling with the farmers across the line in Vermont and New York State. I am not going to detail the methods of expulsion, or describe the ways and means used by the agents of Rome to effect their purpose. That might be interesting, might gratify the curious, but would, while the scheme is in progress, be injudicious. One fact the experience of the Eastern Townships has established—the Anglo-Saxon farmer will remain in no country where he is discriminated against. It is different with the business man. He goes where trade and manufactures yield the largest profit. The English-speaking population on the island of Montreal grows and will continue to grow. Of Protestant farmers, each census will count fewer, yet these farmers have an equal claim to the Province with the French and Catholic farmers. Quebec is the country of the Protestant farmer from being the home of his family for several generations, and from their labor in creating that home by carving it out of the primeval forest. Tens of thousands of them know no other country: Quebec to them is their native land, which they desire to live in, and, if need should arise, would die for. The townships are the creation of English-speaking Protestants, what they are, they made them; they were their architects and builders, and by Crown and Imperial Parliament, were secured in the townships as their inheritance, their chosen seat in the Province of Quebec. The Premier of our Dominion, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, has been abroad of late, repeating with eloquent iteration that the secret of binding alien peoples to the English Crown is to copy what has been done in Quebec, thrusting the advice on British statesmen that to solve the situation in South Africa they should grant the Boers the fullest autonomy. What of the hypocrisy of talking thus and at the very time being a party to the crushing of the autonomy of the Eastern

Townships, robbing its Protestant settlers of their rights as British subjects, winking at the violation of laws in order to make their situation unendurable, and so drive them forth to seek equal rights in another Province—too often under another flag? Judging by their acts, it is seen there are men who in clamoring for autonomy really seek the power to supplant those who do not think as they do. These Townships' farmers, as fine a yeomanry as the sun ever shone upon, the influence and services of whose fathers in hours of danger saved Canada to Britain, are being ousted by a class in whose mouths autonomy, self-government, constitutional rights, are being constantly repeated—inspiring words when they mean power to benefit the people, sinister, hypocritical words when they mean dragging a people under the rule of the priests. The victims of priestly designs in Quebec ask for no exceptional treatment. What they do ask is, that they be rescued from the schemes and stratagems of the priests, and that their church be rendered powerless to hurt them by being placed on the same level as other churches. Is that an unreasonable demand? The shame is, that in a British colony British subjects should have to prefer such a demand.

In referring to the part schools bear in driving out the Protestant farmers of Quebec it is essential that the two meanings attached to the term "elementary education" be kept in mind. Non-Catholics understand by it the imparting to children of the rudiments of that knowledge which is necessary for their success in life. The priests understand by the term instruction in the doctrine, ritual, and liturgy of the Church of Rome. If to this has been added reading, writing, arithmetic, it has been in deference to the agitation which, in our day, is represented by Godfroi Langlois. To find the school the priests design their people should have, go to the back parishes, where you see a young girl devoting her time to get her scholars memorize the catechism and recite the order of prayers. Her salary

is a mockery, sometimes as low as \$70, seldom more than \$120, yet considering her qualifications, her youth, and what she has to teach, it is not inadequate. When the priest speaks of an elementary school he means a confessional school—a place where the child will be prepared for first communion. When a Protestant speaks of an elementary school, he means a place where his children will be taught the three R.'s. The distinction between the two is as plain as the difference is wide. The purpose and end of the Public School is to impart the elements of secular education to the children of the nation, to fuse them into a common citizenship, and make them loyal to the government. The purpose and end of the Separate School system is to divide the children, to hive those whose parents are Catholics, to keep them apart from other children, to bring them up as a distinct caste, whose first allegiance is not to Canada, but to Rome. On the community the effect of the Separate School is divisive: to the unity of the State it is destructive. There is no comparison between the common school system and that of Separate Schools, for they differ as day from night. The common school has an open door, inviting youth of all creeds and races to enter and learn what every citizen ought to know; the Separate School has a screen before its door, which admits only those who can pass its meshes, and the first purpose of whose teaching is to make bigots. The one is inclusive, broad, progressive; the other is exclusive, narrow, reactionary.

How confessional schools were introduced into Quebec remains to be told. In 1801 the government took steps to establish a system of schools. When the co-operation of Bishop Plessis was asked he refused—the priests demanded their kind of schools, to which the governor would not consent—they must take the schools as designed by the government or want. They preferred to do without schools; they would have confessional schools or none. The government's offer

had a different reception in the Townships, whose farmers organized schools, often at their sole expense, for public aid was erratic and trifling. Between 1820 and 1841 several educational Acts were passed, with grants per scholar; one provided for half the cost of new schoolhouses. None of these Acts recognized differences in creed; they provided for Public Schools. Sydenham was extremely anxious to have the children of the habitants educated, and induced his Ministers to submit an Act, at the first meeting of the united legislature, to establish public schools in both Provinces. The Quebec members objected, asking Catholic schools. Instead of standing by their measure the government weakly consented to refer the Act to a committee, which inserted a declaratory clause giving permission to Catholics to dissent and form schools of their own. This permission applied to both Provinces, and Ontario had its first taste of Papal dictation. As regards the Quebec parishes the Act was inoperative. Conferences with the bishops followed ending in submitting the Act of 1844, which forms the basis of all subsequent school legislation. It made distinct provision for sectarian schools. In Quebec the Act failed from an unlooked for cause. It authorized a compulsory tax to maintain schools. This the habitants resented, and attempts to levy rates resulted in a ferment of stubborn opposition with, in some localities, deeds of violence. The Act had to be modified in this regard, without, however, leading to the establishment of a general system of schools in the parishes. So late as 1853 there were municipalities whose rate-payers boasted no school tax had ever been collected. The planting of schools among the habitants is, therefore, comparatively recent. The organizing of their schools fell to their priests, and as has been stated they made them adjuncts of their church. From the earliest period, the preparation of children for first communion in Quebec has been by means of repetition. Someone, commonly the mother, repeated the catechism

and prayers from memory, and the words they said the little ones stored away as they listened. The introduction of schools was seized to do this work of preparation, and their main purpose to this day is to fit the scholars for their first communion. After that ceremony, few, of the boys at least, attend. These schools are as much a part of the Papal system as its convents. They do for the ordinary child what the college does for the select few—train them to implicit faith in and obedience to their church. To parallel them with schools whose purpose is to teach the three R's and to enlarge the intellect by storing it with information, is to confound two essentially different institutions.

The introduction of separate schools has proved the destruction of the common schools of Quebec. For two score years, at least, there were schools in the townships before there was any serious effort to found any kind of schools in the parishes. This priority it is of importance to bear in mind. When the Act of 1844 began to be enforced, there were schools in every English-speaking settlement. In farming communities the support available for schools is limited. Children cannot be expected to walk over two miles to school, and that radius gives, where farms range from one to two hundred acres, an average of one school to every twenty families. This physical obstacle to a rural population keeping up more than one school has not been taken into account by those who have framed our educational laws. Plant a second school in a district, and one or other has to go out of existence, for there are only sufficient families to support one. A priest goes into a school district in the townships and commands the few Catholic families to dissent and have a Separate School. The loss of their rates impairs the revenue of the old school, and, as time passes, whenever a farm comes for sale, by some unseen direction a Catholic buyer is brought for it, so the revenue grows smaller until the point is reached

that it is insufficient, and the door of the old school-house closes for the last time. The townships had a system of schools as old as their settlement and as non-sectarian as those of Ontario. They have been undermined by the innovation of confessional schools. It was officially stated in 1906 that four hundred had gone out of existence. The beginning of every school year sees more doors unopened. No matter under what pretence. Separate Schools are introduced into farming sections, the result is to destroy the original schools. It is different in towns and cities, where sufficient support can be got for both. In the country, where there can only be a limited number of families to the square mile, the man who establishes a Separate School does so with the design of breaking down the one in existence. In her invasion of the townships Rome planned to destroy the schools of their founders, and she is killing them slowly and surely. The statistics given in the government reports do not confirm this, for, according to them, the decrease of non-Catholic schools has not been marked. These statistics lump together the number of such schools in villages, towns, and cities, with those in the rural parts. There is no column for the little red school-house. The number of elementary non-Catholic schools has increased largely in Montreal and in manufacturing towns and villages, and that increase conceals the loss of such schools in the rural sections. Then, again, the government statistics do not show how long the schools remain open during the teaching term. A member of the legislature asked for a special return on this head, and when it was brought down it showed that for the scholastic year 1907-8 out of 835 rural schools 100 did not open from inability to get a teacher for the salary the ratepayers were able to offer. Two hundred were kept open with difficulty, having only from five to eight scholars, and 300 had less than a dozen. Only one-quarter were open for the full scholastic year of ten months; nearly 30

per cent. of them were open for only seven months or less, and 89 of them were open for five months or less. These statistics indicate that the ratepayers, upon whom fell the support of these schools, were so few that they were able to keep them open for a few months only, implying that three out of four were inefficient. The case is made worse from the added statement that 459 had teachers without diplomas. In a typical township, having seven non-Catholic school-houses, which, forty years ago were crowded, there were 94 scholars—an average of 14. The school that had the largest attendance had 17, the smallest 6. A school with less than ten pupils, and open four months in the year, is better than none at all, and that is all that can be said of half of the rural schools in the Province of Quebec attended by the children of parents who are not Roman Catholics. In the year 1905 of these weak schools, 66 closed forever. The inefficiency of the education they impart is illustrated by the fact that out of every 100 who have attended them, 92 scholars have to be content with what little they have learned, 4 get one or more terms at a model school, 3 at an academy, and 1 goes to a university. And what of those sections where the non-Catholics are unable to keep open a school for even four months in the year? The children in these sections are growing up illiterates. Everybody knows the man who affects to be an oracle in politics, who boasts he is not narrow-minded, who despises the bigots who are always introducing subjects that cause heart-burning in a mixed community, who considers it only fair Catholics should have their own schools. Men who use such language abound in and out of parliament. In doing what they consider justice to the Catholics, they do not reflect they are perpetrating the cruelest wrong on those who are not Catholics, that they were destroying their schools and dooming their children to ignorance. There are respectable farmers' families in Quebec, whose younger members cannot sign their names,

because the priests have shut the schools where they would have been taught the elements of education.

PROTESTANTS FORCED TO SUPPORT CATHOLIC SCHOOLS.

The demand of the priests is, that the taxes paid by their people shall go to the support of confessional schools and none other—that to take them to maintain even non-sectarian schools is a violation of conscience. They insist that the school tax be divided according to the creed of the taxpayer. The rule is a bad one, but when a legislature adopts it, provision should be made that it be impartially carried out. Whatever money is paid by a Catholic should go to confessional schools, whatever by a non-Catholic to public schools. That is not done in the Province of Quebec. The bulk of its commerce and manufactures is in the hands of Protestants; blot them out and Quebec would be one of the poorest countries in the world. The visitor to Montreal who approaches it by the Lachine canal cannot fail to be impressed by the factories that line its banks and the abounding evidence of manufacturing industry so far as his eye can reach. Coming to the harbor he sees a long line of monster steamships. Turning to the business streets he is impressed by the massive buildings that house banks and those other institutions that trade and commerce require, and when he seeks the residential part of the city he views the palaces where live the men who control these institutions and who own the factories that darken the lower part of the city with their smoke. Ninety out of a hundred of these men are Protestants; of the remaining ten, Jews form the larger part. According to the rule of the priests, the taxes of these wealthy Jews and Protestants ought to go to maintain public schools: they do not, the greater part goes to confessional schools, to schools taught by nuns and monks, to enrich convents and other monastic institutions. If the money filched out of the pockets of Protestants was devoted solely to public schools, there would be

a financial crisis among the Catholic educational institutions of Montreal. Seeing the demand of the priests on behalf of the majority is, that not a dollar of their taxes be taken for the rates be applied to support non-Catholic institutions, if it be a wrong to make Catholics contribute towards secular schools, it must be a much greater wrong to compel Protestants to maintain Catholic schools. If the conscience of the Catholic is outraged by his helping to keep up a non-sectarian, a neutral, school, what shall be said of the outrage of forcing Jews and Protestants to support nuns and friars under the name of education? How is this done? A Protestant owns a factory. So long as he holds it in his own name, or in the name of a partnership, his rates go to the public schools. The moment, however, the factory comes to be owned by an incorporated company, a new principle is applied, and the rates levied on the factory are divided in proportion to the number of Catholics and Protestants resident in the district in which the factory is situated. Every dollar of the factory is owned by Protestants, but that makes no difference, the law of Quebec is, that the rates of all incorporated companies is apportioned, not according to the creed of the shareholders, but of the creed of those who live around it. Of late there has been a rush of mercantile houses in Montreal to become incorporated companies, and by the change the greater part of their school tax goes to the Catholic panel. It is within the truth to say that of the capital of these companies nineteen-twentieths is that of Protestants. Catholic firms are careful to avoid incorporation, and the amount of rates from companies composed of Catholics is a negligible quantity. An estimate, prepared by one who investigated the subject, gives a million dollars yearly as the amount taken from Protestants for the support of Catholic schools. That, I judge, is excessive, but the amount has nothing to do with the principle at stake, which is, that Protestants having

investments in banking and insurance companies, commercial and manufacturing enterprises, are compelled by law to support Catholic schools in the Province of Quebec. The law is defended on the ground that the proprietors of great industrial concerns are interested in the education of their employees. Certainly they are interested in seeing that they get a secular education, but it is of the brutality of intolerance to confiscate their money to teach the doctrines of a Church. In Quebec the State prescribes Catholic schools, and then compels Protestants and other non-Catholics to pay towards their expenses. The State assumes a function that does not legitimately belong to it, prescribing a certain sect as the church of the Province, and then coerces those who disown that sect and its teaching, to pay taxes to support it. Each dollar levied in taxation or taken from the public treasury for the support of any Church or for the teaching of its creed in any school, is not merely tyrannical, it is a violation of the rights of conscience. The priests declaim against taking the taxes of Catholics to maintain Public Schools in Ontario and Manitoba as an outrage that cries to heaven for redress, but in Quebec, these same men get the law so shaped that the bulk of the tax levied on the real estate, incomes, and capital of Protestants shall go to maintain schools where are daily taught doctrines abhorrent to them. A mark of a true church must be honesty. Is it honest to demand exemption for Catholics from supporting non-sectarian schools on the score of conscience, and then cunningly plunder Protestants to maintain Catholic schools? Have Protestants no consciences to be respected? Each session we hear members at Ottawa dwelling on the fairness of allowing Catholics in the Northwest to retain their tax for support of Separate Schools: these very members uphold the law in Quebec which seizes the bulk of the tax levied on the real estate, incomes, and capital of Protestants to maintain schools taught by nuns and

friars, and strenuously resist a change in that law. I care not who the politicians are who pose as statesmen, I care not who the prelates are who rustle in gorgeous robes and profess to speak as representatives of Christ, I declare their seizing the money of Protestants to maintain their institutions to be more than intolerance, it is robbery.

The air is full of plans to save the schools of the non-Catholic farmers of Quebec. In 1906 the Protestant committee of the council of public instruction adopted a motion asking the legislature to levy a small tax on the assessable property of Protestants. It was shown that in that year such property amounted to one hundred and thirty million dollars, and that a tax of five cents on the hundred dollars would yield \$65,000, which would be sufficient to save the schools that were slowly dying. The proposed tax was abominable, being based on the principle that ought to be eliminated, of recognizing creed in public affairs. Rescue the rates levied on Protestants for the support of Catholic schools, place them in a general fund, and there will be no need to call for aid from the benevolent, for an increased grant from the government, or for the levying of a special tax on real estate owned by Protestants.

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE TOWNSHIPS.

The growth of the townships, sketched in the first chapter, was full of hope. Each day's work was done in joyous expectation of plans to be realized. There was activity, progress, life. Periodically there was exultation over what had been achieved: neighbor joining neighbor to enumerate results, encouraging one another to attempt greater things. The pages in which Bouchette tells of his successive visits to the townships and of their marvellous advancement give a thrill of delight to the reader. A brighter morning no new country could have. How different the picture of to-day! In a few centres there is much indus-

trial activity: Sherbrooke and Granby hum with the revolving wheels of mill and factory, around which cluster tenements of workers. These are apart from the rural population, and it is with the English-speaking farmer I am concerned. Let us see how he has fared. Here is a concession in which, a few decades ago, in each home was heard the kindly speech of the Lowland Scot; here another where Highlanders predominated; another where Irish Catholics and Protestants dwelt in neighborly helpfulness; another where neatness and taste told of its dwellers being of New England descent. To-day approach one of those homes, and with polite gesture madam gives you to understand she does not speak English. Here is the school the first settlers erected, and which they and their successors kept open with no small denial. Draw near to it and you hear the scholars in their play calling to one another in French. The descendants of the men who cleared these fields of forest and brought them into cultivation have disappeared. The meeting-house where they met for worship stands there on a knoll, with broken windows, and boarded door, dropping to decay. The surrounding acre where they buried their dead, is a mass of weeds, which defy approach to read the wording on the stones that are barely discerned through the tangle of vegetation. Once in the course of years there is a funeral: a corpse comes by train from some far-distant State, that of one who was once a settler and yearned to rest with her kindred. A vanished race: why did they go? Because the pledged word of a British king and the statute enacted by a British Parliament, were broken and set aside by Canadian politicians in obedience to the ecclesiastics who helped them to office. These acres were meant by the King and Parliament of England to be free land: the blight of servitude to a Church is now upon them.

The situation of the few families who cling to a decaying township settlement is painful. They have

seen neighbor after neighbor leave, and French families take their place. The people they visited and who visited them are in the United States, for of those who have left the townships the large majority sought the Republic instead of our Northwest, as if from an instinctive fear that no part of Canada is safe from the power that expelled them. The lack of social intercourse presses on the wife and children; the lack of mutual helpfulness on the father. A feeling of isolation and loneliness creeps upon them. It is with difficulty services in the church are maintained: were it not for help from home mission funds its door would be closed. A day comes when there are too few families to keep up the school. The father sees a Catholic one within sight of his door. Will he send his children to it? What is the daily routine of that school? Learning the prayers of the Church, so that the children may be able to follow the service on Sunday; learning the catechism, with such questions as these:

“What is the Church Jesus Christ has established?”

“It is the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman Church.

“Can one be saved outside of the Catholic, apostolic and Roman Church?”

“No, outside the Church none can be saved.”

These the questions of a primary class. Take a specimen of those in the more advanced:

“Do you believe that the Holy Church, Catholic and Apostolic, is the only true Church, in which but one baptism is given, and a true remission of all sins?”

“I do believe.

“Do you reject and anathematize all heresies against this Holy Catholic Church?”

“I anathematize them.”

This is the catechism which forms the staple of the course of study with a little of the three R's during the intervals between it and prayers. The teacher assures the father his children will not be asked to join in catechism or prayers, but he knows from experience they will be involuntarily fixed in their memories by

daily hearing. I know an Orangeman, unable from distance to send his children to a Public School, who allowed them to attend the confessional school on an adjoining lot. Everyone of them, from the constant iteration in their hearing, could repeat the petit catechism. Then the day comes when the priest is to visit the school, and the scholars join in preparing and decorating a little shrine. The text-books are Catholic, the whole atmosphere of the school is Catholic. The farmer cannot in conscience send his little ones to it, and so the French-Canadian, who has been wanting his farm, gets it, and a week after he is in possession a priest comes to see the new acquisition of his church, for it has a joint proprietorship with the habitant in its acres. For the first time a priest drives up the lane lined by maples which the grandfather of the dispossessed Protestant planted, and levies tithes on the yield of fields his great-grand parents redeemed from the wilderness, and which four generations of Protestants have ploughed.

When the stream of emigration from the United Kingdom set in a century ago, it was so marvellous that any portion of it should have been diverted to the back country of Quebec, that he who weighs all the conditions of the times traces the hand of design—that God would have planted in Quebec people who would bear testimony to his truth. Hundreds of families who sailed from the Old Land purposing to settle in Ontario, were, by what seemed to them accidental happenings, diverted from their intention and remained in Quebec. Of the many first settlers I have conversed with, not one in twenty said they crossed the Atlantic with the intention of remaining in Quebec. Was there no purpose in this? Are the settlements of Ulstermen and of Lowland Scots that rose in the midst of the all-pervading forest to be regarded in no other light than that which the economist views them? The fundamental truth of Christianity is the individuality of man in his relation to

God. Each of us stands accused before Him, and for our reconciliation there is no provision for a human intermediary. No fellow-being can step between the soul and its Maker: no organization speak or act for Him. In every age and in every country there have been men who professed to be the deputies, the representatives on earth, of God; assuming to speak for Him and asserting the efficacy of their services as intermediaries in saving souls. In no other part of the continent was there more need than in Quebec for a body of men and women to bear witness by their lives that no fellow-mortal can stand between the soul and God, teaching the twin truth of the individual responsibility and of the spiritual independence of man. The settlers, so strangely guided to Quebec, knew this great truth, but hid it in their materialism, their eager seeking after what the world can give, and the example they ought to have set was lost in their inconsistent lives, their indifference to the eternal welfare of the people whose eyes were upon them. It was their duty to be lights, to be witness-bearers to the sovereignty of Christ and the all-sufficiency of his intercession, yet, if by naught else than their neglect of associating together to fan the flame of piety, and the meanness of their contributions to sustain Gospel ordinances, they disgraced, and finally blasted the cause they were called to recommend. Had they realized the grandeur of their opportunity, had they been faithful to their duty, would they have been abandoned to those who, from their first coming, plotted against them? The Protestants of Quebec had presented to them an opening to do a grand work. They threw it away, and as a people they have been thrown away. Will the remnant consider where their fathers failed and earnestly set their faces to redeeming the past? If they are to hold their own, it must be by a great spiritual revival among themselves. They have been sinned against, wantonly and aggressively, but they also have sinned by not living up to the knowledge they possessed.

CHAPTER VIII.

Is Canada to be British or Papal?

At an enormous cost in life and money Canada was conquered and made part of the British Empire. By the thousand her noblest sons laid down their lives in the struggle, and a debt was rolled up that caused the Motherland to stagger in her effort to cope with it. There never was another instance where territory was won more dearly or more decisively, than Britain's conquest of Canada. The French king acknowledged that, when, by the treaty of Paris, he renounced his sovereignty over it without reservation and without exacting a single concession in return. Since that seven years of war it has been by a struggle against foes within, that Canada has been maintained a part of the Empire to this hour. That it may so continue is the heart-desire of every loyal subject—that, with the coming years, Canada may go on expanding until its vast domain has been redeemed from the wilderness and then, strong in united sentiment, powerful in population and resources, she will be the champion of the Motherland and defy her enemies to assail her. More than this, the loyalist looks for constitutional institutions of the British type being more fully developed here than where hindered by feudal traditions or hereditary interests. What the thirteen American colonies might have done it is open to Canada to do—to cultivate and develop the shoot off the old tree—with this difference, that in place of enmity

towards the land it was brought from, there shall be care and reverence. Are we to take our stand, that, as Canada has been British in the past, it shall be British in the future—that on this virgin soil those institutions which are the glory of the Mother State—self-government, regard for law and order, equal rights, devoted patriotism—shall be its characteristics? If the answer is Yes, then let us look to it, that there are no enemies among us who are, at this moment, scheming to defeat that purpose, no conditions that will hinder its fruition.

One obvious menace to the continuance of Canada as British, is the avalanche of foreigners being shot into our midst—people who know neither our language nor our customs, totally ignorant of the working of constitutional government; people who have escaped from under the heel of despotic rulers and bring with them hatred of constituted authority. Are we doing what self-preservation dictates, when we give these foreigners portions of the great heritage of fertile land that Providence has entrusted to us? Who would invite an alien of objectionable record to become an inmate of his home, a member of his family? Were a man found so foolish, would it be surprising were he, in course of time, displaced by the newcomer and evil wrought among his children? It would be difficult to stop the policy that prevails, but it would be easy to check it. This, at least, might be done, that no foreigner be allowed to vote unless he can read and write. That would ensure something to work upon in the effort to transform foreigners into British subjects. Had the Federal Government retained the ownership of the land, its passing into the hands of undesirable foreigners could be ended, but our government has not retained the ownership; railway and land companies control millions of acres, and these corporations care nothing for the future status of the country, and, in their greed, pack in settlers regardless of qualification, race, or character.

When the danger this influx of foreigners may cause is urged, it is the common reply that we should set to work to convert them into good British subjects. Do those who speak so, ever think of the impossibility of the task they propose? What could they do if sent into a settlement of several hundred foreigners, who do not know even how to live decently, ignorant of the commonest elements of knowledge, yet bigotedly attached to their own superstitions, prejudices, and customs? Are the people who speak so glibly about the certainty of moulding this foreign material into loyal subjects of Britain, willing to go as missionaries into these Northwest settlements? Less than that, do these people contribute to maintain the few devoted men and women our churches are making such a sacrifice to send to those settlements? If when these settlements only number a few hundred thousand foreigners, our population in the eastern Provinces can do so little for them, what will it be when the foreign element mounts into millions, and the number in the older Provinces, who are zealous to do mission work among them, shows no corresponding increase? We acknowledge to-day that the foreign element is so large that it is with difficulty it can be compassed and permeated with those influences which will make them desirable citizens and loyal subjects. Unless the door is more closely closed to their influx, the Northwest will cease to be, in the real sense of the term, British, and it is the Northwest that is going to decide what Canada is to be.

The experience of the United States is quoted as proof that we have nothing to fear, that the republic has assimilated just such hordes. That the American people have had surprising success is true, but it has been far from complete success, and the foreign peril shadows the future of the republic. It has to be considered the Americans faced the difficulty under different conditions from ourselves. Before the flood from continental Europe set in, the people of the

United States were English-speaking, and had settled, so far as it is possible for all time, that there should be no connection between Church and State, and that no other than the public schools, free and unsectarian, should be recognized. Canada faces the problem with none of those advantages. More than a fifth of our population speak French, there is a State Church dominating our second largest Province, and we have no national school system. Whoever claims that Canada can do what the United States has accomplished in assimilating strange peoples, forgets how Canada is handicapped when she faces the foreigner to make him a British subject. Given a State Church within her borders, sectarian schools, and a fifth of her population not speaking English, the United States could not have achieved what they have done with the foreigner. More than that, the United States, in proportion to its population, has not had the same number of aliens to deal with. The percentage of foreign immigrants has been much greater in Canada. What a country with a population that counts by tens of millions might effect, a country that counts its people by units cannot do. Our native leaven is too small for the mass of foreign meal.

Shall Canada continue to be British? That is the question that ought to over-rule all others, and must be settled now, for what is in our power to-day will be impossible a few years hence. It is provoking to reflect that what could have been easily done thirty years ago to ensure the Northwest being British, is beyond our grasp now. The task is difficult, it is not impossible, and should be grappled with at once. The call of patriotism, the call of self-interest and self-preservation, is to ensure that Canada shall, for all time, be British not merely in name, but in fact, and that ought to be the aim of all political effort.

Supposing the loyalists of Canada were awakened to the peril that overhangs them, that they were fully convinced of the importance of uniting in a supreme

effort to keep the country British, what would they have to do? I submit there are four essentials.—One Language, One School, Severance of Church and State, No Recognition of Race.

There is no disputing that the hope of doing anything with the foreign element already entrenched on our soil lies in their children. The grown-up foreigner is set in his ways and not to be remoulded, but there is a possibility of making Britons out of their children—inspiring them with our ideas and attaching them to our form of government. In taking the two-score nationalities represented in the Northwest, and fusing them into British subjects, the great agency to be depended upon is the school. To do its work there are two indispensable requisites, one language and no discrimination as to creed. If the language is not English, the school is useless as a means of making the boys and girls Britons, and equally useless if the boys and girls are sorted out according to the religious belief of their parents, and given separate tuition. The object sought is unity—dividing on creed, or having any other language than English, is fatal to unity. Ample provision has been made in the Northwest for providing schools, so that there will be schools of some kind. Should these schools vary with the predominant nationality of each settlement, some Galician, others Russian, a few Polish, with Italian, Greek, and German interspersed, the Dominion will be a conglomerate, a mixture of discordant elements, without cohesion, and with a large part of its population having no regard for the government that gave them the land and aided them in making a new start in life. Unless it is irrevocably decided now, that the Public Schools of the Northwest are to teach English, and nothing else than English, Canada is not going to continue to be British.

Language is not all. It is necessary that the Public School be inoffensive to the parents whose children go to it, and, to that end, there must be no interference

with religious belief. The population of the Northwest is divided as to creed—there are members of the Greek Church and its several branches, there are Armenians, Doukhobors, Jews, Protestants and Roman Catholics, and a large number who are not within the pale of any church. All these people have a just claim in asking that their children be not interfered with in spiritual matters, and, therefore, the schools must be colorless as regards creed. In an ideal State, where all the people think alike on religious subjects, a school that combines secular with spiritual knowledge is possible. But the Northwest is not Utopia, and we have to deal with conditions as we find them, and these are a mixed multitude who differ widely in their religious views. A school for their children is a necessity, and the only basis on which they can unite in having one is that it will confine itself to secular knowledge, therefore, of necessity, not of choice, the Public School has to be neutral, quite colorless as to creed.

The impartiality that leads to the Public School being made a common meeting-ground for children of all origins and creeds, ought to be extended to their parents. Both Federal and Provincial Governments should dispense their patronage without regard to nationality or creed. Unless an end is put to office-seekers demanding appointments because of their race or religious belief, the work of assimilation will be defeated, for such a method of filling public offices perpetuates sectionalism. The system of civil public service, which we have made a start in copying from England, has its defects, but it ensures impartiality by making ability the standard. The civil service commissioners take no cognizance of the nationality or belief of applicants for office, but they do of the manner in which they passed their examinations. There are, at least, twenty thousand salaried officials, Federal and Provincial. At the present time it is safe to say three-fourths were appointed because of influences

which had nothing to do with fitness or merit. The principle, which it has been tried to establish at Quebec and Ottawa, that each nationality and creed is entitled to its proportion of patronage, is destructive of the purpose to make Canada British. If, for no other reason, the Senate should be changed into an elective body, and end the scandal of men in every sense unsuitable being appointed to it on the ground that they represent some section of the population in religion or origin.

The principle involved in banishing from the Public School and the civil service the elements of creed and race, must apply to all grants of public money. Taxes being contributed by all citizens, no part of them should be applied to purposes offensive to the consciences of any section of the population. Grants of public money or land to benefit any particular church are at the expense of those who do not pertain to that church, and, therefore, unjust—a cause of discontent, an element of strife. As in the case of the school, fair play can alone be shown by giving protection to all denominations but contributing to the support of none. The State being neutral, no offence is given to the adherents of any religious body, and it will interfere with none so long as they respect the common law. In a mixed population no other course is possible that will ensure peace.

The difficulty of applying these principles is urged. If not reduced to practice, and that speedily, the result will be an increasing number of discordant peoples, each demanding special privileges in the matter of schools, churches, language, and public offices. With French schools and Russian schools, Galician and Syrian, the government making laws to suit the special requirements of the Catholic creed and the Greek, of the Armenian and the Judaic, and premiers compelled to study, in making selections for public positions, the creed and nationality of applicants, there will be discord and contention, weakness and

corruption, and whatever the Canada might be that in course of time would be evolved from such chaos, it certainly would not be British. It is no injustice to the descendants of people who were brought under British rule by force majeure, or to people who voluntarily seek homes in Canada to better themselves, that they comply with the conditions that are imperative to continue Canada as British. If foreigners do not like the conditions, they need not immigrate here, and their coming is a tacit consent to accepting these conditions. That people fleeing from the poverty and oppression of continental Europe should receive free grants of land, share in the advantages of the enormous expenditure we have lavished on the Northwest to make it accessible, and then turn round, demanding their language and creed be recognized by the State, and our laws modified to suit their Old World customs, is intolerable. We have given them much, endured much, are we, in addition, to pluck the core from the British constitution to suit their notions? The stand has to be taken that Canada is British, and whoever seeks to live in it must be British and be content with the laws and the administration of them that are required to continue Canada as British. If foreigners are not prepared to recognize English as the language of the State they had no business to come here; if they want the same privileges given their respective churches as obtained whence they came, they should have remained where they were, or gone elsewhere and founded a colony for themselves. No foreigner has a right to come among us and attempt to graft upon our institutions those of the land he left. By virtue of conquest, of settlement, of sacrifices to make it what it is, Canada is British, and whoever plans or attempts to make it anything else is an enemy and to be treated as an enemy of the common weal. There must be no compromising, no paltering for the sake of securing temporary peace. Requests for special favors are to be

decisively refused. The time has come when the insolent demands of foreign interests have to be grappled with or Canada will cease to be British.

1. One language;
2. Non-sectarian schools;
3. No sectarian grants or laws;
4. Government appointments by merit.

These proposals are reasonable in their simplicity, yet no four could be made which will meet with such obstinate resistance. The opposition will be prompt and bitter, and will start from the Province that most strikingly illustrates the result of their non-enforcement. Had our public men in the past insisted that one language, one school, no sectarian legislation, and no representation of creed or race in filling offices, were essentials to be maintained, Quebec would not be what it is to-day—the danger-centre to British institutions in the Dominion, the impassive obstacle to making Canada what it ought to be. The resistance of the scattered settlements of foreigners in the Northwest to an immediate effort to unify and assimilate, it is possible to overcome; it is the support they receive from Quebec that makes the undertaking formidable.

Consider the four conditions separately and what they mean:

ONE LANGUAGE.

No power can prevent people from using in the family or in business whatever language they please. That is a natural right which pertains to the individual, and which must be left to those concerned. The State cannot say you must give up speaking Gaelic, French, German, Russian, or Italian, but its duty is to see that these languages be not recognized as official, that, while exceptions are to be submitted to where the administration of justice or the carrying out of executive orders require their use, they are not on the same plane as English. Supposing the English-speaking colony in Paris, which numbers many thousands, demanded that they have English schools, an English-

speaking judge, English-speaking representatives, would they not be promptly and decisively told that French is the language of France, and the only one the State recognizes? Germany has several colonies in Africa and Asia. What answer would the Kaiser give to a request of English-speaking settlers in these colonies for schools, courts, and representatives of their own speech? There is not another Power that would do what Britain has done, consent to the placing of a foreign language on an equality with English. Unity requires that the State have one language, and in Canada that language must be that of the Empire. More involves disunion and confusion. It has been so habitually repeated that the system of dual official language works well in Quebec, that many accept the assertion as true. Such is not the case; the existence of two official languages in Quebec works badly, and is a hindrance to its prosperity. Look at a few instances in proof.

The commerce of Quebec lies in the hands of the minority—blot them out, banks would close, steamships cease running, railway shops disappear, factories shut their doors. The great employers of labor, the directors of gigantic enterprises, the suppliers of capital, are English-speaking. It is from them the Provincial Government draws most of its revenue, Montreal constituting the milch cow to which the Quebec politicians turn when the treasury has to be replenished, yet no consideration of gratitude prevents wanton interference with the minority in its modes of doing business. Twice has the legislative assembly adopted a bill to compel companies to use French. That these companies, in their own interest, will use French wherever called for is plain, but the proposal is to coerce them, by fines, into using French where they consider there is no need, and an opening is given to lawyers to harass and prey upon them by recovery of these fines. Is there another British dependency where companies, which have received no State aid, are penalized if they

do not use another language than English. How would the manufacturers of Toronto like to be dictated to in this manner, yet that is what the recognition of French as co-equal with English would bring them. Again, take the use of two languages in court. Here is an illustration. An action is taken out against an English-speaking farmer. The document notifying him of what has been done is served upon him in French. He is unable to read it, and asks for an English copy. The reply is, that French is an official language in Quebec, and he has no right to ask for a translation: the document served upon him is according to the law of the land. He attends court, all that is said is in French, for, unless the charge against him is criminal, he cannot claim to have the evidence of witnesses repeated in English. All he knows of what is going on is what his lawyer whispers to him. The judge takes the case *en delibere*, and when he comes to a finding the farmer gets his decision in a long French document. To learn what the judgment is that has been passed on his case, he has to search out some one who can read it to him, perhaps pay for a translation.

Supposing it is a criminal charge upon which the farmer is brought into court, this is what happens: The judge, a Frenchman, having taken his seat, the lawyer who appears for the farmer asks the court for an English-speaking jury. The prosecutor for the crown objects, and that ends the matter, and the jury sworn in is, therefore, a mixed one, half being English-speaking. The crown prosecutor addresses the jury, first in French then in English. Of what he says to the French half of the jury the farmer understands not a word. The witnesses are now called. There is an interpreter, who repeats what the French witnesses say in English, and what the English witnesses say in French. The translation is often bad, necessarily it is rough-and-ready. The manner and exact expressions of the witnesses are lost to half the jury.

The French jurymen get the evidence of the English witnesses as filtered through the translator: the English jurymen that of the French witnesses not as it comes from their lips, but as conveyed by the translator. It is all slow, tedious, mechanical, but there is not an official who does not desire to have the trial spun out a week or more, for they are paid by the day, and a criminal term in Quebec means making money to them. A disinterested spectator comes to perceive there are two trials going on instead of one—that the farmer is being tried under conditions he understands by his six countrymen, and under conditions he does not comprehend by the six French jurymen. The evidence all in, the addresses to the jury come next. The farmer may be poor, but if he wants to succeed, he has to engage two lawyers, one to address the French jurymen, the other the English half of the jury. The crown is likely to have joint-prosecutors, one English the other French, so that their addresses differ in substance as well as in language. The farmer knows naught of what the French prosecutor is declaring with such vehemence against him. The judge charges the jury in both languages, and there are often discrepancies between his deliverances. The jury retire to consider their verdict. One half cannot discuss the case with the other half. The Frenchmen talk among themselves and decide on their verdict—the Englishmen do the same. Unless one of the twelve speaks both languages fluently they cannot arrive at an intelligent finding. Such a man is rare, so, in broken English and worse French, a verdict is patched up by the twelve men in order that they may end their confinement and get back to their work and homes. Often it is six against six, and, neither giving in, a disagreement is reported and the farmer has to undergo another trial at the succeeding term, generally a year after. This is the travesty of justice that goes on in the Province of Quebec from year to year. The farmer had a right to be tried by twelve of his peers—

he was actually tried by six only, and the other six, unconsciously, no doubt, regarded him with the prejudice of race and creed. Behind the judge is the coat of arms, but the farmer has been denied that justice the British coat of arms is supposed to represent, and for him Wolfe died in vain. Had the farmer a right to be tried in the language of the Empire and by his peers, or had he not?

All this is inevitable wherever any other language is made co-equal with English. Wherever there is variety of speech there must be difficulty and drawbacks in administering justice, but the point is this, Why, in a British country, should the litigant, whose mother tongue is that of the Empire, be made to suffer from those drawbacks? Why should a native of Britain or a descendant of a Briton, be treated as a foreigner in a foreign land? Is he not entitled to whatever advantages follow from English being the language of the Empire, and those who speak other tongues be the parties who have to submit to the inconveniences, defects, and delays of procedure by means of interpreters? Surely the English-speaking Canadian is entitled to the preference. Let readers of this who are living in the Western Provinces substitute for the word "French" in the foregoing narration Russian or Greek, Galician or Syrian, and he will realize what will happen if he does not stand for English being the official language of Canada. English is in process of being tabooed in Quebec, it is year by year being placed at a greater disadvantage, and more and more being treated as a foreign language in its courts, departments, and legislature. May the other Provinces take warning of what will surely come to them in course of time if they do not insist on one official language and that the language of the British Empire.

ONE SCHOOL.

No self-governing country can afford to have any considerable portion of its people illiterate. The

exercise of the franchise makes intelligence imperative. The man who cannot read cannot have an enlightened opinion on any public issue, and, therefore, ought to be adjudged incapable of having a voice in the government of the country. The better educated the electorate, the more widely informed, the safer, more progressive, more stable the government. A despotism cherishes ignorance for it conduces to blind obedience. Intelligence is the breath of a free State, therefore Canada's aim ought to be to have every child given the elements of education. No one will ever be able to say that public schools teach all that is desirable, but it is within our power to see that no child shall fail to be put in possession of those keys which unlock the doors of knowledge. In assuming a duty necessary to the preservation of a self-governing country it is necessary that all the children be dealt with on the same terms, that no family or set of families be given a preference, but all be treated alike. When a parent comes and says, "I want my children taught the doctrines and ritual of the church I belong to," surely the government ought to have no other reply than that the schools are intended to impart only the elements of secular education, and to add aught else is beyond their purpose and touches subjects with which no government has a right to meddle. To see that Jack and Jenny shall be able to read, to write, to count, to learn something of the resources and institutions of the land they live in is the task of the government; to go beyond that, and undertake to give them the training to fit them as members of any church, is not. Is not this the A B C of political principles, of the mutual compact on which all self-governing communities rest? Objectors, who style secular schools infidel, show they have hazy ideas of their own duties, for they would unload upon the government, a composite and purely secular organization, the teaching of spiritual truth, a duty which belongs to the parents and their church. No government is capable of imparting spiritual knowledge, and

the only Province that voluntarily attempts it is Quebec. Here, as in language, Quebec is an object-lesson to the other Provinces. It professes to have religious schools. If by "religion" is meant the imbuing of the infant mind with love to God and man, then the teaching in these schools does not comply with that standard, has no claim to be religious, for their teaching is so uncharitable that the children are made to believe that all mankind outside the Church of Rome are in a state of condemnation. Examine the so-called religious teaching of these schools and it will be found it is not to expand the mind with broad views of the highest of all Truth, or to enrich the affections with the purest conceptions of pity and mercy, but to make bigots, to so cramp the intellect by means of forms and catechism, to smother the natural aspirations of piety by routine prayers, that the children are ensured for life as believers in Papal dogma. There is a short and decisive way of settling the pretence that the scholars of such schools are superior in morals to those from non-sectarian schools, and that is by an appeal to experience. Are those trained in Catholic schools distinguished from their fellows by being less profane, less drunken, less coarse, less immoral, more benevolent, more active in promoting every agency for the betterment of society? What do the statistics of the police and criminal courts tell? Are the bulk of offenders against law, men and women who have got their education in "godless" or in religious schools? The Italians never knew of any other creed than the Papal, for centuries on centuries they and their fathers have been under the tutelage of the priesthood. Are the tens of thousands of Italians who have come to live among us, models of the Christian graces? Brought to this simple, practical test, judging the teaching of Catholic schools by the lives of those trained in them, the claim of its being "religious" in the true sense of the word is seen to be not proven. The fact is, these schools are not religious, they are

theological. The priests have simply seized the secular schools provided at the public cost and distorted them to suit their own ends, by drilling the rising generation in the doctrines and practices of a sect—perverted a public institution into an instrument to suit a denomination. Visitors to rural Quebec note the evidence that meets them of a country behind the age, and, in part, trace the cause to the inefficiency of the schools, for a majority of the people cannot read and only a few write. In the first requirement of the State, giving the people the elements of secular education, the rural schools of Quebec, more than those of any other of the Provinces, have manifestly failed. If the people of the Northwest listen to the importunities of those who are demanding church schools, whether Greek, Armenian, Mormon, or Catholic, let them study such schools in Quebec and see what will be the result.

A plausible argument why Separate Schools be granted, is that those who ask for them are entitled to their share of the taxes to do with the amount as they see fit. This would be effective, were taxes levied according to creed. Do we pay taxes as Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, or Jews, or do we pay them as citizens? Are there separate cash-boxes in the treasuries of our Provinces and at Ottawa, labelled with the names of the various churches, into which the taxes are dropped according to the creed of those who pay them? If so, then the members of each denomination might claim what is in their particular box be expended in the way they ask, but as there is no such system, when all taxes go into a general fund, it is foolishness to pretend that any church has a claim upon a particular portion. The taxes are levied for public purposes, to be expended on behalf of the people as a whole, and to divert any part of them from public purposes to pay to any church, is a breach of trust. How could the business of the country be conducted were every dollar of revenue credited according to the creed

of the person who pays it, and be expended on the same line? It would be impossible, yet the Baptist, the Methodist, the Presbyterian, the Anglican, has an equal right with the Catholic to make such demand. For a section of the population to say, Our standing is different from these, they are only pretended churches, ours is the true Church, is to raise a question with which the civil magistrate has nothing to do.

When a body of people demand that, because of their religious belief they be treated differently from the common herd, is any government justified in recognizing such a claim? The government that does, violates two principles of the civil contract by asserting, (1) that the State is competent to judge of religious beliefs, and (2), to grant special privileges to the Church it prefers. Whoever defends Separate Schools concedes the principle that the civil magistrate is endowed with the right to judge of spiritual truth, to reward those who come up to the standard he fixes, and to punish those who do not, by placing them under disabilities. This is the principle on which Separate Schools rests. Is it not contrary to every conception of liberty of conscience? When the Catholic hierarchy unitedly declare it is an essential part of the faith they represent, that the children of its members be educated apart, and demand the government provide Separate Schools for them, the answer of the State ought to be, that if they will not eat out of the common dish, and drink out of the common cup, they must provide dish and cup at their own cost—that the State would be going outside its functions to judge creeds and beyond its powers to use funds contributed by the people as a whole to build partition walls and nourish sectarianism. The government places at the disposal of all a train to transport the children of the nation from ignorance to the realm of secular knowledge, and parents who are so exclusive that they will not send their children into the same cars with those of their neighbors, ought to be told they must pay for a Pull-

man out of their own pockets. Once admit religious belief as constituting a claim for exceptional treatment by the government, and where will these claims end? In Quebec, where this claim has been most fully acknowledged and most fully developed, it does not end with the school. The principle of separation from Protestants is carried into every public institution. There are not only Separate Schools and colleges, but separate asylums for the Catholic indigent, the insane, the helpless; separate hospitals for the Catholic sick; separate reformatories, and even separate prisons. From the cradle to the grave the government is required to pay towards keeping the Catholic under the care and tutelage of its priests.

Come to close quarters and ask, Whether this claim upon the government for exceptional treatment has not two sides? If the conscience of the priest is so tender that he cannot possibly permit the children of his people to attend a secular school, what about the conscience of the Protestant who sees public money taken to maintain a Catholic school? Have priests alone such tender consciences that the State must bow to them? Is there no assault upon the conscience, when a government takes public money to maintain schools that teach their scholars enmity to Protestantism? Is not every Separate School subsidized out of the public chest an affront to the convictions of every non-Catholic? Were Protestants as alive to their convictions and their own self-preservation as the priests, they would not allow a dollar of public money to go to the support of Separate Schools. Let the priest with his non possumus be met with an equally decided reply, that public funds shall not be taken to propagate his creed. The Protestant has an equal right to have his conscientious belief respected by the government as the priest.

What is the motive of this claim upon the State for separation? Is it not spiritual pride? Is it not based on the pretence that the Church of Rome is the

one Church that represents Christ upon earth, and that its members are to be preserved from contamination by mixing with those outside its pale, and just because it claims to be the only true Church the State is bound to give it different treatment from the pariahs who affect to be Christians? What right, by what authority, does any government recognize that awful claim, that the Church of Rome alone represents Christ in the world, and that its resources and authority are to be placed at her feet to keep her faithful separate and distinct from those outside her pale? Is the money of Protestants to be taken to maintain institutions that insult them by proclaiming they are unfit to participate with Catholics in their benefits, that their presence would be contamination? A body of men and women set themselves up to be holier than their neighbors, to be possessors of a spiritual unction shared by nobody else, and forthwith demand that the State recognize their exclusive holiness, and assist by money and statute to keep them a separate people.

CHURCH SCHOOLS LEAD TO A STATE CHURCH.

To give any religious denomination the privilege of Separate Schools for their children, means that the State bestows upon that denomination an exclusive privilege, something that cannot be granted any other, for were the government to grant a like concession to other churches Public Schools would become impossible. It is only by people of all creeds joining together that schools can be maintained. In an agricultural country like ours, as has been dwelt on in the last chapter, the number of children in the average school district is small, and, at the best, the teacher has few pupils. Introduce the principle that a favored sect is to have its own school, and there can be none for the children of other faiths, and so, just because of the religious belief of their parents, that they do not belong to the sect it favors, the State deprives their children of their right to an elementary

education. The government has demonstrated its preference for one particular church, and gives it special benefits at the expense of all the other churches. There is no escaping this plain truth, that Separate Schools imply a State Church. Are we in Canada to ignore the experience of Europe on this point? With the record before us of the evils that have flowed from State churches, are we going to fall into the same pit? The argument against Separate Schools is strong on the ground of expediency, that they defeat the purpose of assimilating the diverse elements of our population and fitting the rising generation for fulfilling the duties called for in a self-governing country, but the argument is tenfold stronger and conclusive to all lovers of liberty, that such action is an interference by the State with the consciences of its people. No government has a right to dictate what church is best, yet that is what it does when it selects a church for an exclusive favor. In doing so it goes beyond its jurisdiction, and does violence to the consciences of all who are not members of the favored church. A united, a British Canada, imperatively demands that there shall be no connection between the State and any church.

There is more involved in this matter of Separate Schools than people think. The government that yields to the demand of the priests for Separate Schools, thereby recognizes the validity of Papal law and its duty to comply with it. When the demand is made for Separate Schools it is regarded by the average elector as a matter concerning the education of the children of his Roman Catholic neighbors and nothing more. It means much more, for the demand for schools conceals the claim that the government yield obedience to Canon Law.

CANON LAW.

In Quebec, where canon law is a reality, few realize what it is: outside Quebec canon law is a mere

name. The Church of Rome has a code of laws of her own, for the governing of her members; that code is named canon law. It is an elaborate and minute code, regulating everything pertaining to life and morals, applied by a fixed course of procedure, with voluminous commentaries, and administered by courts appointed by the bishops. This code of laws is left in abeyance where Protestants are in the majority, and in these sections the priests appear as ministers of a purely religious system. Where conditions are favorable, however, canon law is evoked, and the priests in addition to their spiritual duties, assume functions that, elsewhere, pertain to the courts and the legislature. That the bishops shall have control of education is part of canon law; consequently, any government that admits that claim acknowledges submission to canon law. To quote the teaching of the Syllabus of 1870 on that head is sufficient to show what is claimed. I quote from the authorized version in the affirmative: "If anyone says that all the "direction of the Public Schools, in which the youth "of a Christian State receives instruction, Episcopal "Seminaries being excepted, can and must be confided "to the hands of the civil authority; . . . let him "be accursed. . . . If anyone says that Catholics "can approve a system of education outside of the "Catholic faith, and outside of the authority of the "Catholic Church, and having for its object, or at least "for its main object, only the knowledge of things "purely natural and the interests of the social life on "this earth, let him be accursed."—Articles 45 and 48.

These articles the Archbishop of Quebec, in his pastoral regarding the Syllabus, interpreted thus: "The church must have admission to the schools, not "only by simple tolerance, but by virtue of its divine "mission . . . they stigmatize as a sacrilegious "usurpation all civil laws concerning the education of "the youth; they say that, by its divine institution, the "church must have to itself alone the direction of

“schools, even in what concerns letters and natural sciences.”—Pastoral letter, 31 May, 1870.

The doctrine laid down is, that to the priests pertains the direction of the schools, and that their claim is of divine right. If a government recognizes that claim as to schools, how can it refuse to do likewise with regard to the claims of the priests on baptism, marriage, and burial? You have admitted the sovereignty of Papal law as regards schools, and by your doing so, you have acknowledged your obligation to respect it in every other regard,—is the logical argument of the priesthood.

A few examples of the administration of canon law in the Province of Quebec will make the nature of the system clearer than any description.

CANON LAW AND MARRIAGE.

A couple were married in the parish church of St. Johns. It proved an unhappy union, and the man asked the priest to have it dissolved on the ground that he and his wife were second cousins, a fact of which the girl was ignorant at time of marriage. The priest suggested the marriage could be made regular by a dispensation from the bishop, which would be granted on payment of a certain sum of money as alms. The husband rejected the suggestion, the marriage was declared null by the Archbishop of Montreal, and the man married another woman. Another resident of the diocese of Montreal, Oliver Lachapelle applied for a dispensation to marry his second cousin, and obtained it. Tiring of her, he asked the marriage be annulled on the ground that they were first cousins. He had represented to the priest who married them they were second cousins, in order to save paying the larger amount, \$100, the price of a dispensation to marry first cousins. The marriage was annulled; the woman hid herself in a nunnery. A French-Canadian couple presented themselves before a Protestant minister in Montreal to be married. They had a license

and he united them. Six years afterwards, four children being then born, the man, who was secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor, asked the Archbishop of Quebec to declare the marriage null. His ecclesiastical court heard the parties and rendered a decision, to this effect, that the ceremony by a Protestant minister was not binding, separated the couple, and declared them free to form anew the matrimonial tie. The woman was deserted. Two young French-Canadians, both on a visit to Europe, met in Paris, became enamored of each other, and decided to return to Canada as man and wife. They went to the British embassy, where the civil contract was made, and then proceeded to the Church of St. Sulpice, where Abbe Jobin married them. On their return to Canada they found they were not congenial, and both desired separation. The court of the Archbishop of Montreal declared the ceremony performed by the Paris priest was not binding, because neither the young man nor the young woman belonged to the parish of St. Sulpice in Paris, and had no dispensation from their ordinary to be married outside his jurisdiction.

These are typical cases of many. The priests do not believe in courts separating couples for the cause that has Christ's authority: they cut the tie for causes that shock Protestants. The reasons for so acting are given in the pastoral letter of Archbishop Bruchesi, of January 12, 1901:

“The church, a complete society, which has received
“from Jesus Christ all power for the government of its
“members; if it judges expedient, it subordinates the
“validity of marriage to certain conditions relative
“to the contracting parties, or to certain exterior for-
“malities, and can, in consequence, declare null all
“marriages contracted outside of these conditions or
“without these formalities.”

Canonical courts having alone jurisdiction in adjudging on the validity of conditions and formali-

ties, when the priests desire it any marriage may be set aside. The archbishop goes on to say:

“The State cannot establish invalidating impediments to marriage between Christians, neither can it grant dispensation from impediments established by the church.”

The decree of the Fifth Council of Quebec reads: “Catholics, unworthy of the name, dare sometimes to present themselves before heretic ministers, in the capacity of ministers of religion, to contract marriage. Therefore, we warn all the faithful of this Province that it is a mortal sin, an enormous scandal, a kind of apostasy, to communicate thus, in divine things, with heretics, in the affairs of the church.”

CANON LAW AND BURIAL.

Canon law enacts that every child baptized by a priest is placed in the care of the church, which cannot lose her hold over the person unless he makes a formal act of apostasy. Here is a case that shows how canon law works in this regard. In the township of Franklin, county of Huntingdon, an aged woman was committed to mother-earth in a Protestant burial-place. One of the King's judges was asked for an order to raise the body and re-inter it in a Roman Catholic cemetery. Reputable witnesses testified the woman had not been in a Catholic church for two score years, that in her latter days she gratefully received the ministrations of the Anglican rector, who had conducted the funeral, committing the body of the poor old woman to its kindred dust until the day of judgment with the most impressive of all burial services, that of the Church of England. All was urged in vain against the fact that her baptism by a priest was on record and that there was no proof in writing that she had made a formal act of apostasy. The judge granted the order, the body was exhumed, conveyed to the parish cemetery, and buried by a

priest. Here is another illustration. A husband died a Catholic. His widow, a Protestant, anxious that he be buried where she could be laid, when her time came, beside him, for they were deeply attached to one another, sought to bury him in the general cemetery. She was warned, that if she did so, the body would rest no longer in its grave than was required to get an order of court to raise it and re-enter it in the Catholic burial place. There has been no decision of the Quebec courts as to who has the first claim as to the disposal of the dead. Naturally it would be said the nearest of kin. The priests say No, that canon law lays down that they come before widow or parent, brother or child, and in this the courts of Quebec uphold them. Thus backed, the interference of the priests on deaths occurring in households which are in part Protestant causes unspeakably distressing scenes. People naturally kind become changed when they believe they are doing the will of their church, and, in the name of religion, become cruel and relentless.

CANON LAW AND THE PRESS.

These are instances to show how canon law affects individuals and families. In the devising of these laws laymen had no part. They were framed by the priests to strengthen their power and exalt themselves above the laity. In applying them the priesthood supplies prosecutors, counsel for the defence, and judges. Civil courts may be asked to put the decisions rendered into effect, but are allowed no power to change them. Where the priests are in a position to apply their laws to communities, freedom of the press becomes a name, for they are used to prevent newspapers from saying anything likely to injure the priests in public estimation. To show how this is done, two instances will suffice. In Montreal there was a weekly newspaper called the *Canada Revue*. It had a staff of contributors eminent in their way,

all Catholics, and the majority of them Nationalists. The paper had its circulation among the higher class of French-Canadians. In 1892 articles appeared in it calling upon the archbishop to protect the homes of Montreal against immoral priests, that scandals had been going on for over fifteen years without effective effort to end them. The archbishop issued a mandement acknowledging the guilt of one priest and calling on the people to do penance for the scandal done the church. This letter was followed by a combined pastoral from all the bishops, which also acknowledged there had been scandals among the priests, but denounced the newspapers that had alluded to them, claiming they did not concern the laity. The words of the bishops' letter are :

“Doubtless abuses may creep in, in spite of the
“great precaution used by the enlightened prudence of
“the church, but it is to us, her chiefs and her head
“pastors, to Us alone that it belongs to repress and
“punish those lamentable and exceptional errors. . . .
“The church, dear brethren, has its chiefs, legitimately
“appointed, the same as has the family and society.
“Who these chiefs are, their names, their talents, and
“their qualities, matters little. In the eyes of faith
“they are the depositaries of the authority of God
“himself and the lieutenants of Jesus Christ. When
“our Lord said to his apostles ‘As my Father has sent
“me, I send you; go ye, therefore, and teach all
“nations,’ he gave his power and his mission to the
“bishops; he appointed all the bishops, and all the
“priests chosen and ordained by them, to continue for-
“ever his work and his teachings. In a word, he
“created in his church different privileges and differ-
“ent rights; its members were divided into two classes
“perfectly distinct—the priests and the laymen, a
“division corresponding to the two elements of the
“social body, the authorities and the people, the rulers
“and the ruled. In the case of the human family, is one
“of the sons entitled to command and censure the

“fathers? In the State, are the simple citizens called
“to enact laws and render judgments? In the army,
“is it the private soldiers who dictate the plan of
“campaign, and order the charge or the retreat? No.
“More especially is this true in the case of the church.
“It behooves the bishops only, whom the Holy Ghost
“has established, to direct the church. It does not
“belong to the faithful, however good Catholics they
“may be, or pretend to be, to trace for the bishops
“a line of conduct, much less to pass judgment upon
“or to censure them. In everything concerning piety,
“morals, or discipline, the priests are in no way sub-
“jected to the opinion of men, and have no lessons to
“receive from those over whom God has appointed
“them judges and pastors.”

The rule here laid down, that laymen had no right to comment upon the conduct of priests, was succeeded by a letter from the Archbishop of Montreal formally condemning the *Revue* and a country newspaper. The sentence is contained in these words:

“Having invoked the holy name of God, we condemn, by virtue of Our Authority, the two publications printed in our diocese, to wit, the *Canada* *Revue* and the *Echo des Deux-Montagnes*, and forbid, pending further order, all the faithful under penalty of refusal of the Sacraments, to print, to put or to keep on sale, to distribute, to read, to receive or have in possession, these two dangerous journals, or to work for them or encourage them in any manner whatever.”

The result of this order was the immediate “strangling”—so its publisher expressed it—of the country paper. The *Revue* tried to make a fight, and continued to be issued at an increasing weekly loss. Published by a company, a delegation of shareholders was sent to interview the archbishop with a view to his modifying his attitude towards it. He frankly acknowledged The *Revue* had not offended in doctrine, but it had in discipline, by exposing the conduct

of priests, and demanded complete and unconditional submission. This the conductors of the paper were not prepared to give, as it meant an acknowledgment they had done wrong in exposing the guilty priests. The interdict was therefore continued; contributors severed their connection with *The Revue*, subscribers returned their copies, merchants withdrew their advertisements, newsagents would not keep it on sale. A profitable business was changed into a losing one with certainty before its owners of having to give it up. To determine whether the priests could thus ruin a legitimate enterprise they sued the archbishop for \$10,000 damages. The case was heard by one of the youngest members of the Bench, a product of the Jesuit college. The point at issue was simple. Had a man, no matter what his title or position, what pretensions he assumed, or what divine authority he claimed, the right in a British colony to punish a newspaper otherwise than by an action-at-law? Instead of grappling with that question, Judge Doherty set up such men-of-straw as, Was the archbishop's order libellous? If it was, was it not privileged? Was the issuing of the letter not within the right of the archbishop? And, then, laboriously knocked them down, by assuming that the archbishop was a superior person, who had the morals of the community in his keeping. Judge Doherty dismissed the action, with all costs against *The Revue*. In the eyes of British law the archbishop stood no higher than any other man, and he had no more the keeping of morals in his charge than the editor of a newspaper. If anybody was aggrieved by what *The Revue* said, it was the priests whose conduct it exposed. They entered no action against it, but the archbishop wreaked their revenge on the editors by a proceeding unknown to English law. The publishers of *The Revue* carried the case to the court of review. The appeal was heard by two English-speaking judges and one French. Chief Justice Tait substantially followed

the argument of Judge Doherty, ruling the archbishop, in consequence of his office, was a privileged person, and that any act of his "according to canon law and "the rules of the church," was binding upon Catholics. Judge Taschereau took the same view—the archbishop in condemning *The Revue* had acted within the just and lawful exercise of his authority and power. Judge Archibald dissented, considering the pretensions of the archbishop had no authority in either French or English law. He had ruined a lawful business without any form of law whatever, had done what no British court or functionary has power to do, suppressed a newspaper without trial and without compensation. The publishers desired to carry the case to England, but there was no adequate response to their appeal for help to meet the costs, and so *The Revue* disappeared, leaving the archbishop victorious. Other papers that have been interdicted have met a like end except in a few cases where the publishers made unconditional submission and did penance.

As bringing out a few new points the case of *L'Electeur*, of Quebec, may be described. During the general election of 1896 it had reported numerous instances of priests intimidating their people, under spiritual penalties, from the pulpit, in the confessional, and in presence of others, what candidates they were to support. It was not pretended these reports were erroneous. A remarkable petition from the Liberal members of the Quebec legislature, 26 in number, assured the Pope that:

"In a number of counties, in the election of June, 1896, the clergy went so far as to say that the electors could not vote for Liberal candidates without involving their conscience, committing a serious fault, and incurring refusal of the sacraments."

The petitioners asked the Pope to send a legate to abate the injury before the coming election of 1897. That *L'Electeur* was only reporting what was true is undeniable. The Bishop of Chicoutimi, in whose dio-

these the priests went to the greatest extremes, resented these newspaper reports and issued a letter to be read from every pulpit. The bishop said:

“The church has been constituted by its divine founder a perfect society by itself, independent and distinct of the civil society. The bishops have been established by the Holy Ghost to erect that society called the Church of God. Therefore they have, in their respective districts, the triple power, legislative, judicial, and coercive—the power to teach, command and judge. Such powers, of course, are subordinate to the authority of the chief of the church, who alone possesses the plenitude of apostolic power. All the priests and the faithful owe docility and obedience to the bishops. It is to them, as well as to his apostles, that Jesus Christ said, Who obeys you obeys me: who despises you despises me.”

Proceeding from this assertion of his divine authority, the bishop tells of the existence of a school of journalists who deride the spiritual power of the bishops, “who claim that the bishops are not infallible, and, consequently, people are free to accept or reject their directions in affairs of conscience.”

Among those bad journalists is L'Electeur, of the city of Quebec, and warns it he will not “hesitate to interdict the reading of it under special penalty.”

In reply to this pastoral letter L'Electeur pleaded politics and elections were outside the sphere of the church. The bishops, for others had joined in the issue, replied through their leading theologian, “that the church has the right to authoritatively determine what is and what is not within her competence, and the State is bound to abide by her decision.” The publisher yielded, and on his unreserved submission was permitted to continue his newspaper on changing its name. There is no instance in the Province of Quebec of a publisher continuing his paper after it was interdicted. The sentence of the priest has always been fatal to the newspaper's existence. *

CANON LAW AND PRIVATE JUDGMENT.

The ban has necessarily not been confined to newspapers; books and pamphlets have been placed under it. The most notable instance was that of the Hon. L. O. David's book, entitled, "The Canadian Clergy, their Mission and their Work." The writer's object was to uphold the proposition, that the priests ought to confine themselves to the spiritual domain, and as his reason for so saying he quoted from history to show that whenever they meddled with secular affairs it was to their own hurt and that of the Province. Starting by laying down "that bishops and priests "are men subject to error" he went on to point out how, in his view, they erred in 1837 and at each subsequent crisis when French nationality was in jeopardy. Professedly a devout Catholic Senator David deplored this, blaming the mistaken course of the priests to ignorance of public sentiment. "The truth," he declares, "reaches them (the priests) with difficulty "through the fumes of the incense which envelopes "them," and he warned them to awake from their sleep of false security and escape the storm which menaced them by leaving politics alone. The little book, which was issued in September, 1896, was condemned by the bishops in a joint pastoral in January following. After stating the book had been submitted to the Holy Office at Rome and been formally condemned "with "the approval of the sovereign pontiff," the rule is laid down that no layman "has authority to judge, "condemn, or approve of doctrines or writings. ". . . It is, by your bishops and the priests, who "are united with them, that you are to receive the "teachings of the Holy See . . . to be with the "Pope you must not be in opposition to the bishops." and the direction of the bishops was that whoever had a copy of Mr. David's book was to destroy it at once or hand it over to his confessor. This was the command of the Pope to the bishops "whom he orders

“you to obey as you would Jesus Christ.” How would the author take this condemnation? His book was a vindication of the right of private judgment in politics, denying to the priests the authority they exercised in driving “men from the church who wish to exercise freely their rights as citizens . . . believing themselves in a better position than the priests to choose the best mode of action. . . . Men living in the world and seeing what is going on, hearing what is said, have the right to give advice to the clergy, or rather to point out the dangers which threaten not only their influence but that of religion. They are right to fear that their children may not be Catholics if the priests do not understand that the salvation of souls is worth more than the salvation of a party.” When the first blast of condemnation reached him, Mr. David said: “When I wrote the little book I had no idea of the storm I was raising. I thought I was doing the clergy a service in speaking out the thoughts that I could not drive from my mind. After the last general election I noticed a growing feeling against clerical interference in politics, and simply gave it publication. They may condemn me; they may excommunicate me. I cannot help that, but I shall still remain a Catholic—that is my religion, and they cannot take my faith from me. I thought when I wrote my book that, as a British subject, I had a perfect right to do so. If not, there is something wrong, for I feel that, as a French-Canadian and a Catholic, I should have the same rights in politics as my English-speaking brethren.”

The sentiments of his book were the expressions of his sincere conviction that each elector has the right of private judgment in selecting the candidate for whom he shall cast his vote. This the Pope declared an error. The Archbishop of Montreal expressed the rule that governs the elector in these words:

“In our days, because of the representative sys-

“tem which obtains in the civilized world, and which
“places the election of those entrusted with authority
“in the hands of majorities and multitudes, the Pope
“often encounters opposition to the liberty of the
“church . . . whether in public life or by the
“voice of the press, the Sovereign Pontiff gives as a
“rule to follow, the direction which will be given by
“the Vatican and by the bishops.”

Mr. David was given an opportunity to justify the claim of his co-religionists to vote free from priestly dictation, to act as citizens of a free and self-governing State, but he proved unequal; he had no desire to be a martyr; he wilted under the condemnation of a clique of his fellow-mortals who blasphemously claimed the inerrancy of divinity, and doing violence to the reason God had given him, made a humiliating submission, and ordered the destruction of all unsold copies of his book. Such the heroic spirit of the historian of *Les Patriotes de 1837-8*.

CANON LAW AND MUNICIPALITIES.

The domain of ecclesiastical law is not confined to the fields that have been touched upon. It extends to all the concerns of life, and if not applied to all in practice, it is because conditions at present are not favorable. It is well to mention another. The unit of territory in Ontario is the township: in Quebec it is the parish. The township is purely secular, the parish combines the ecclesiastical with the secular. The parish has for its centre a church, municipal attributes being added. Since Confederation the bishops have had an unrestricted hand in erecting parishes, they issue their decree and all Catholics within its limits are liable to pay the tax levied to build a church and a house for the priest. As a consequence of what the bishop has done, the parish becomes also a distinct municipality, electing a mayor and councillors. In the days of the French regime the secular affairs of the parish were in the hands of

laymen, the fabrique, as it was called, similar to the vestry and churchwardens of England. Nominally this is still the case, the old forms are observed, but are merely a cover of the will of the ecclesiastic who directs. This power of the bishops to erect new parishes is more often injurious to Catholics than Protestants. The bishop decides on dividing a parish, which means the people in the new one will have to build a church, which may cost anywhere between \$10,000 and a hundred thousand. The dismembered habitants object, they were taxed to build the church they are ordered to leave, and shrink from being taxed to raise another. In the old time they would have had a voice in the proposed change, for, previous to Confederation, it was undisputed that no change could be made in the boundaries of a parish without the consent of a majority of its ratepayers. The bishops, however, ignore the statute and proceed according to canon law. What happened in the diocese of St. Hyacinthe in 1892 will illustrate what is going on all over Quebec. The bishop formed a new parish by taking parts of three old ones. The people included in the new parish of St. Pierre de Verone protested against being wrenched from their old parishes, and appealed to Rome. Mr. Mercier, the same who afterwards became Premier, crossed to Italy to argue their case, and left Rome persuaded he had won. Soon after his return to Canada came the decision, signed by Cardinal Ledochowski, sustaining the action of Bishop Moreau in every point. The people, by refusing to accept the Italian verdict, put themselves in the position of excommunicated Catholics. They persisted in their opposition, one of their number, Julien Campbell, a French-Scot, taking out a test action for \$20,000 damages against the bishop for depriving him of his rights as a parishioner of St. Damien, one of the three sub-divided parishes. The main point in the plea of the bishop was, that his action was in accord with canon law, which "is beyond the competence and

“jurisdiction of the civil courts of this country.” In his reply to the bishop’s plea, Mr. Mercier laid down these principles:

“That the ordinances of the bishops, even when they are purely disciplinary and have only canonical effects, as falsely claimed by the defendant in his said demurrer, do not escape, in this country, the control of the courts, which may quash, annul and lay them aside;

“That there are no privileged classes in this country, and that the bishops are amenable to the laws like everybody else;

“That a bishop must answer before the courts for his acts and his writings, like anyone else, even if these acts and writings were, as the defendant claims they are in this case, purely canonical and disciplinary, if they injure and damage others;

“That it is absurd to pretend, as the defendant does, that a person disturbed in the exercise of religious and civil rights by a Roman Catholic bishop, has no other recourse but before the ecclesiastical superior of that bishop;

“That this proposition is the denial of all religious and civil liberty recognized by law in this country and that upheld by our country and that these Roman Catholic bishops can exercise their power in Canada only within the limits and in the manner and form prescribed by law.”

While the case was before the court an incident happened that brings out the peculiarities of Quebec life. A resident of the new parish, an aged habitant, fell sick, and desired the last rites. The priest of his old parish, St. Damien, was sent for, who refused to come, as the dying man belonged to the new parish, and must send for its priest. This the sick man would not do, and the priest of an adjoining parish was asked to come. He responded, heard the old man’s confession but refused the last rites, as the man was one of those who supported the suit against the bishop. The

difficulty was evaded by sending for a priest who was unattached to a parish. Bishop Moreau won.

The forming of a new parish means the bringing into being of a new municipality, involving political, financial, municipal and social changes—it may be a hiving of electors for party purposes, or bringing in more farms on which to levy taxes to pay a church debt, with the incurring of which the owners of them had nothing to do. Protestant ratepayers have no desire to interfere with any bishop in erecting new parishes for church and school purposes, but as his act involves a new municipality, they do object, considering it high-handed that any priest should, at his will, transfer them from one municipality to another. A decree for a new parish having been issued in the county of St. Jean, 69 Protestants signed a petition to the court against it. Judge Tellier ruled their names could not be counted, and this decision was upheld by the Court of Appeal, which also confirmed his ruling that ecclesiastical authorities (the bishops) are not subject to the jurisdiction of the civil courts. A more flagrant case was that of Ste. Barbe. On the south bank of the St. Lawrence was a small settlement, which dates back to 1820, composed of Scotch farmers. One day an official visited each house demanding payment of a rate levied by the municipal council of the parish of Ste. Barbe. The Scotsmen were amazed, for they knew nothing of the proceedings that had been going on by which the Bishop of Montreal had sub-divided St. Anicet to make a new parish, his commissioners completing his work by also making it a civil parish. Notices of what was being done had been given, but as the law only requires these notices to be posted on the Catholic church door the Protestant farmers knew not of them. A prolonged attempt was made to undo what the bishop had done. It was pled that, whatever powers the bishop might have in the seigniories in erecting parishes, they did not extend to municipalities where the land is held on English

tenure. The Protestant farmers in the new made parish objected to being wrenched from their old municipality as an injury to their pecuniary interests and placing them subject to a majority with whom they were not in accord. The fight was long and bitter. The Protestant farmers had no objection to Ste. Barbe being an ecclesiastical parish, but strenuously opposed its being also a municipality—the priests insisted it should be a municipal as well as an ecclesiastical parish, and the judge, before whom an appeal was taken, on two actions upheld them. After being beaten in the courts and in the legislature, the Protestants had to submit, the parish being established beyond dispute in 1886. It had then eleven Protestant farmers, by far the largest proprietors and taxpayers: in 1908 it had two. The oldest Scotch settlement in the county of Huntingdon was practically blotted out.

CANON LAW AND CITY TAXES.

It would be tedious to follow canon law in all its applications, some of which are surprising. Thus, when it was proposed in the city council of Montreal that the real estate of the priesthood should not be allowed to go wholly untaxed, the archbishop issued a mandement to be read from the altar, censuring the aldermen who supported the change, and advising the ratepayers at the next election to give their votes for men who are well disposed towards the priesthood. The archbishop based his command on the claim "that ecclesiastical property is, according to "canonical law, which is recognized by our legislation, "exempt from taxation." Thus threatened, the Montreal councillors dropped their proposed reform.

CANON LAW IS PLACED ABOVE BRITISH LAW.

The term "the British constitution" is vague in the sense that it is not a written document, but one feature of that constitution is not open to question—that its underlying principle is government by the

people. It was to establish that principle a succession of patrician men wrought since the days of Elizabeth, until it became embodied not simply in precedents, declarations and statutes, but in the organization of the government—in extending the powers of the House of Commons, in restricting those of the House of Lords and of the sovereign. Britons are free in that they rule themselves, that the laws are made by men whom they elect, and that the government of the day is responsible to them—that if the people do not approve of their actions, of the course they are pursuing, they can compel the ministers to resign and put others in their place. No other government in the world, not even that of the United States, is so sensitive to public opinion, so quickly responsive to the popular will. The government may be right or it may be wrong, but it is the people's government, and it is the voice of the people that is supreme. To tell the inhabitants of England and Scotland that in one of their colonies a totally different system of government prevails—a colony where the people do not rule, but where the laws that are obeyed are laws made in Rome by a caste of clergymen whose head is a foreigner—will sound incredible. Read the following extract from a pastoral letter of the Archbishop of Quebec, February 2, 1882, and judge if what is here set down is not true:

“At times the Roman pontiff defines the imprescriptible laws of morality, and his decisions, as those relating to dogma, are irrefragable. . . . The holy church is also a kingdom . . . a visible society, which all must join under pain of eternal damnation. The church requires a visible head in whom is reflected the majesty of her invisible Head. . . . The spiritual royalty of the Roman pontiff has a vigorous claim to our respect and to our obedience. . . . And as the Son of God exercises his pontificate and speaks his word by the ministry of his priests . . . the duty of every true Catholic

“is to obey this tutelary authority. . . . We
“ordain that this solemn decree be frequently incul-
“cated to the faithful of this Province, that all may
“know the sovereign pontiff, the legitimate successor
“of Peter . . . has full authority to enact on faith,
“morals, and discipline, decrees which all are bound
“to obey both in mind and heart.”

The formula laid down is definite. The one Church of Christ on earth is the Church of Rome, the head of that church is Christ's representative on earth, his sway is universal, his commands are as those of God. These commands are in part embodied in canon law and demand absolute obedience. In Quebec they receive, as has been seen from the cases quoted, unquestioning submission even from His Majesty's judges. So far as I could learn there has not been an instance of a decree of an ecclesiastical court having been set aside by a Quebec court. A lawyer stands up before a judge and tells him he holds in his hand a decree of the bishop in-such-and-such-a-case, and the judge, whether Protestant or Catholic, ratifies it as a mere matter of form, and so gives the decree of the priest-court civil effect. Let it be declared by a bishop, a matter falls under canon law and the effect is the same as when a Polynesian priest pronounces the word taboo—it is taken out of the ordinary sphere, is above civil functionaries, above British law, something which permits of no appeal, no discussion or amendment, is simply to be implicitly obeyed.

The practical application of canon law is to deny to those affected by it the benefits of British law—freedom of speech and of the press vanishes, statutes are superseded by canons, our highest parliament denied the right to regulate so vital a concern to society at large as marriage, and allegiance to the State superseded by obedience to a caste of men who claim to be imbued with a divine essence which places them above criticism and makes questioning of their acts sacrilege. Is the demand, that there shall be

only one law in Canada, and that British, unreasonable? There was a time when canon law had no force in Quebec—it now goes before civil. Let the other Provinces take heed what will befall them if they do not make a stand now, and the entering wedge for canon law is the granting of Separate Schools.

CANON LAW OR BRITISH LAW—WHICH IS IT TO BE?

The deduction to be drawn from the experience of Quebec with clerical law is not the hardship involved to the persons who suffer from it, or the light thrown on the pretensions of the priests to be far above laymen because they are divine, but the revelation of the existence of an organization which asserts itself to be above the State, with a form of government, a code of laws, and courts, to which it is striving to make all Canada subject. Forget the theological aspect of the claim, look at the demand of these priests from a purely secular standpoint and ask, Does not what these priests propose for the Dominion, and have already succeeded to a considerable degree in bringing into operation in Quebec, mean the destruction of British institutions? Can two governments exist together, one claiming to be divine, the other to draw its authority from the people? Must not one or other give way—which is it to be, the Papal or the British? Can two systems of law, two courts, two standards of right and wrong, two claimants to obedience continue to exist in the same community? As well ask what would become of the ship that has two captains or the army with two commanders. One or other must be deposed. Are British subjects to be amenable not solely to the statutes enacted by their representatives, but also to a pretended higher law? The answer to these questions is not to be evaded by saying canonical decrees concern spiritual matters alone. Is strangling the press a spiritual matter; is dictating to electors the candidate for whom they are to vote a spiritual mat-

ter? It is also urged canon law only affects Catholics. Go tell this to the Protestant girl who has her marriage to a Catholic declared no marriage, and is sent forth to the world branded as a concubine and her children as bastards. Is it nothing to non-Catholics to have the laws relating to baptism, marriage, and burial dictated by the priesthood? The existing state of affairs in Quebec is a menace to British institutions in every Province from Nova Scotia to British Columbia, and if Canada is to be British in reality as it is in name that state of affairs has to be reformed. Politicians may wriggle as they please, cry out against firebrands and extremists, talk about the beauty of toleration and mutual forbearance, prophesy that if we only keep quiet all will come right, but let them answer this, Can two systems, so directly opposite as the Papal and British, develop together—must not the one that is to survive smother the other? In Quebec we know which of the two is being slowly and surely smothered. Two systems of jurisprudence, two authorities claiming allegiance, cannot exist side by side.

The call to every true Briton is to vindicate the right of self-government, to repudiate the interference of foreign emissaries in the ruling of our country, and to make good the boast that our allegiance is alone due to the executive that derives its powers from the people. There is a clashing of the two contending systems heard every session at Ottawa. If the British cause is to be maintained that clashing will increase and thunder over the land. He is a coward who would waver in his determination to uphold the cause of equal rights and a government independent of Italian control, because it will result in the destruction of the existing political parties and the destruction of personal interests.

CHAPTER IX.

It is a Papal, not a French Quebec that Menaces the Dominion

Recognizing the danger to the Dominion arising from the state of affairs that exists in Quebec the question comes, What can be done to avert it? Can the Federal Parliament interfere with what is considered to be provincial rights? Nay, more, can what is claimed to be prescriptive rights be set aside? On this latter head it is advisable to have a clear understanding before taking up the other. Are there not vested interests coming down from the days of Louis XIV., which form an insurmountable barrier to the Dominion Parliament stripping the Church of Rome in Quebec of whatever is hurtful to Canada as a nation that is to be—privileges that clash with the rights of the other Provinces, privileges that irritate and provoke strife? In foregoing chapters several of the pretensions of the priesthood of Quebec have been brought to the test of historical facts—such as that their privileges were secured to them in the treaty of Paris, that the Quebec Act gives them authority to levy church dues on every acre of the Province of Quebec, that it was through their influence Canada was preserved to Britain during the American revolution and the War of 1812—there remains another, namely, that the organization, powers, and attributes they now possess are theirs by prescriptive right, for they were theirs

during the French period. This claim I wish to compare with the records preserved in the archives of France. In the past it has been too much the habit of the people of the other Provinces to take for granted as true the assumptions of the Quebec priesthood. Claims founded on facts is one thing; claims founded on pretensions quite another. Sacerdotal pomp, the affected airs of superior beings, have gone far in imposing upon the public mind. When the age, the power, the wealth, the assumptions of the Papacy are considered, this is not to be wondered at. The prestige of the centuries is hers, and outside of heathendom and its twin Mohamedanism, no other single organization numbers so many million votaries. Her emissaries hover around every court, and there is no country where her influence is unknown. Widespread and potent as are her secular successes they are insignificant compared with her spiritual claims, for these are, that she is the sole channel of God's truth, and that her ministers are the exclusive agents of Christ's grace to man. Through the haze of incense is seen the shimmer of purple and scarlet, of white and gold, of the carved structure designed as a symbol of Calvary, and the mortal-man on its steps is affecting to repeat that sacrifice which Christ made once and for all time on the hill that witnessed the world's shame and was the starting-point of the world's hope. To challenge the truth of statements made by men who say they represent Christ, to sweep aside their attitudes of haughty command, their elaborate ceremonies, their gorgeous robes, the triumphant music, the homage of the multitudes who fall on their knees before them, is not easy, for these are of the things that dazzle the imagination and darken the understanding. Set aside all this, free the mind from the witchery of the past, the glamor of the present, take these priests from their pedestals and test their word as you would that of your fellows, and examine coldly and critically into the claim of the Quebec priests that they inherited from

the French regime the extraordinary and exclusive privileges they to-day enjoy. Before proceeding to do so, it is well to have a knowledge of the results of these privileges, what the priests have effected in town and country by means of them.

To the visitor who travels through the parishes of Quebec for the first time, the outstanding feature is the size and number of conventual buildings. In villages, that are a cluster of little one-storey houses, he sees a church large enough and costly enough for a city, and nearby great, massive structures, where, he is told, certain orders of brothers or sisters dwell. Whatever route the visitor chooses, road, steamboat, or rail, he meets men and women in uniform, and in whatever direction he turns his gaze the gleam of a cross is discerned, while the tinkle of convent-bell or the boom of the big church bell breaks on his hearing from dawn to sunset. Passing along the road he is startled by coming on a cross by the wayside, accompanied by repulsive emblems of the tortures of the Saviour of the world. Each house he enters, no matter how humble, has its emblems of Christ's humiliation and pictures of saints. These are only appearances, yet, like the faint vapor that rises from the summit of an isle of the Indian Ocean, they indicate the unseen, the strange fire that burns beneath. It takes patience and close observation to ascertain the nature of the pervading influence which entralls this quiet community, and the knowledge of it comes by slow degrees. As it does, the visitor's prepossessions are dissipated. He thought of them as French, as jealously preserving the customs and traditions of the country whence came their forefathers. He finds they know nothing of France, that France has become merely a name, and that neither in spirit nor sympathy have they anything in common with the France of to-day. There is little reading, few newspapers, and fewer books. The books are devotional, the newspapers are frothy. In conversation he finds certain

topics are tabooed, and that on many vital subjects there is no independence of word or thought. While politely treated, he comes to feel that under the cover of the punctilious courtesy with which he is addressed lurks a strange mingling of pity and aversion. The belief has been deeply impressed upon the people among whom he mingles, that Protestants are not religious, that their pretended faith is a mere negation, which was invented by Luther, and Luther was inspired by the devil. Taught thus, while on their guard in keeping his company, they pity him as one of the lost. This fundamental fact, that the great body of the population of Quebec are firmly grounded in the belief that Protestants have no religion, and that, if they persevere in rejecting the aid of the priests they are lost, affects more than their personal bearing in coming in contact with non-Catholics, it shapes their politics, colors their opinions of whatever is happening near or far. How has this been brought about? The visitor watches the classes of the elementary school, examines the text-books, and sees how carefully the scholars have impressed upon their infant minds everything the priests desire they should believe, and how they are kept in ignorance of everything they wish withheld. From the wayside school he turns to the college and marks the art of the procrustean beds where the pupils are robbed of their intellectual individuality, and their higher sentiments forced into the narrow mould of their priestly preceptors. From the college to the convent is a step, and here, amid surface accomplishments, the future women of the Province are imbued with belief in the infallibility of the Church of Rome and the duty of unquestioning obedience to its priests. Passing from these institutions, where the minds and wills of the youth are thus shaped, the observer no longer wonders at the influence the priesthood exercises—the moulding of the youth of a great Province lies entirely in their hands. Talk of passive obedience to Kings. Here is the reality of

which Charles I. and his son James dreamt. Talk of espionage. Here there is in actual service such a system as Fouche never conceived. In the presbytery and the buildings around it are the intellects that think for the community, the will that holds and directs its will, the tongue that commands, the eye that sees every detail of the daily lives of its dwellers, however insignificant, the ear to which comes the tattle and the innermost secrets of the dwellers beneath the roofs of each house in the parish. The atmosphere thus created is not national, it is ecclesiastical: it is not French, it is Papal. It is a population trained by the Church of Rome to do the will and exalt the Church of Rome. True, the priests exhort the people to be French, and nothing but French. That is merely part of their system to keep them under their thumb. Were they of any other origin they would use the same cry—were they Irish they would tell them to be Irish and nothing else; were they Germans or Poles they would get like advice. In their speaking English, especially in their learning to read English, the priests see danger, and so they reiterate the precept that they are to be first Catholic then French, and that on their continuing to be Catholic depends their being French, and they are made to believe that the Church of Rome is the sole surety of their nationality and their language; that if they leave their Church they lose everything. No pains are spared to keep them isolated from Protestants. The partition-wall is maintained so high that practically there is no social intercourse, no intimate relation permitted. Here, again, the dividing-line is creed, not race, for if the English-speaking neighbor becomes Catholic the priest encourages the freest intercourse. The longer the visitor stays and the more intimate he becomes with the people, the more conscious he is of the all-pervading influence of the Church of Rome, how she dominates every concern of daily life, how every interest is made subservient to her interest, how

every prejudice is fostered that aids her plans, every cry raised that binds her followers to her. It may be said all this is true of rural Quebec alone. Let the visitor leave. He is now treading the streets of the city of Quebec. Mark those colossal buildings behind whose barred windows and sentinelled gates are monks, and nuns, and novices by the hundred. At every step he meets a black-robed ecclesiastic, or encounters a many-colored procession. The legislature is in session; he goes to its place of meeting, and, standing in the corridor, watches the ever-shifting crowd. Here, again, priests mingle in the throng: if there be a measure that interests their Church they are in committee-room and in the galleries of the House. He observes how their opinions are deferred to, their requests granted. Attending the meeting of the City Council he finds like obsequiousness to the requests that come from the archbishop's palace. The Church of Rome owns a third of the real estate of the city, and, therefore, ought to be its largest taxpayer. It pays no tax, yet is insistent on being granted favors at the expense of those who do.

Standing, whether in country or city, in presence of conditions so extraordinary, so utterly opposite to what prevail in every other Province of the Dominion, two questions press for answer:

1. How has this come about?
2. Is not the existence of such conditions in a Province that elects sixty-five members of the House of Commons, a menace to the Dominion's continuing to be British in reality, and to its people enjoying free institutions?

If the first question is asked of a Roman Catholic, he assures you what you see is a survival of the French period, that the French, under British rule, in their love of Romanism, have preserved it in every detail as their fathers knew it before the Conquest. Is this true? Is it really so, that the Church of Rome, as it exists to-day in Quebec, is only enjoying the privileges,

immunities, and prerogatives it did before Canada became a British possession? This question has a most important bearing on what course our rulers should take with regard to the Church of Rome in Quebec. If it can be proved that Church is only enjoying what was its use-and-wont under the French kings, respect for vested privileges makes the reformer hesitate. On the other hand, if it can be demonstrated from official records of the French period, that the Church of Rome was held in New France subordinate to the State, that she was denied the privilege of being autonomous, that even the details of conventual life and of pastoral work were regulated by the civil magistrate, the question assumes an entirely different aspect, for the reformer knows he has to deal not with privileges inherited from the French period, but with privileges assumed or conferred while Quebec has been under the British Crown. He who would hesitate about uprooting institutions that came from another regime, hoary with three centuries, has no hesitation whatever in manfully grappling with them when he has ascertained beyond denial such pretension has no foundation.

As to what really was the status of the Church of Rome in Quebec during the rule of the French Kings, there can be no better testimony—indeed, no other testimony—than that of these Kings. In the voluminous archives these Kings left, we have minute details of all they did and ordered in their governing New France. What is the evidence of these State-papers on the question under consideration? To begin, what was the attitude of Louis XIV., and of Louis XV. towards the religious orders of New France? Instead of summarizing what they contain and citing references, I give literal quotations from the edicts, despatches and letters of those two Kings to the governors, intendants, and bishops of Quebec.

No public question can be more delicate than whether the parliament of Canada would be justified

in overseeing convents, with the view of protecting their inmates and securing the public welfare. Ninety-nine out of every hundred would stand aghast at such proposed legislation; half our population would call it sacrilege. What did the French Kings think about regulating nuns and nunneries? Listen to what they said:

May, 1671—In answer to the question respecting the vows to be taken by the Sisters of the Congregation de Ville Marie, and by Les Hospitaliers, it was not the King's intention in granting Letters Patent to these sisters to make real nuns of them. According to all authorities, and the practice in the first times of the Church, and to the royal statutes, the liberty of the King's subjects belonged to the King and not to the Church. The King can grant or refuse the founding of a religious community, the privilege of assuming vows, etc. His permission once granted, the religious authority alone has the right to judge as to whether the person asking to take such vows possesses the necessary disposition to find holiness therein. The daughters of La Congregation having been established to live a secular life only, cannot, without permission from the King, change their status and their rule of life by imposing upon themselves the obligation of taking vows, whether simple or solemn.

April 10, 1684—The King gives 500 livres, and sends out three women to teach the squaws to knit and spin. This money is not to be entrusted to the Ursulines.

May 5, 1700—To the bishop: Multiplicity of religious establishments has a bad effect. The King will tolerate the establishment of the Ursulines at Three Rivers, but will not give letters patent. Regrets to learn that, on his own authority, the bishop has taken Sisters from the Hotel Dieu, and given them the direction of the General Hospital. Must send them back to the Hotel Dieu, it being the wish of the King that his hospitals shall be governed by administrators under

his own control. His Majesty will not allow the Sisters of the Hotel Dieu to make a convent of the General Hospital. His Majesty sees with regret the multiplication of establishments for religious of both sexes.

May 11, 1701—The King consents to the establishment of the nuns of the Hotel Dieu at the General Hospital, but their number must never exceed eight. Will give letters patent to the Ursulines of Three Rivers, if their revenue admit of it, but the number of nuns shall be limited.

June 1, 1701—The King requires, if he is to continue his gratuities to the religious communities in Canada, annual certified statements of their fixed and casual revenues, of their expenses and liabilities; otherwise he will suppress their gratuities, as he cannot consent that they should be used for superfluous embellishments.

May 3, 1702—The King will not make any more grants to the communities, which are already too powerful.

June 17, 1705—You do well not to allow the establishment of communities which have no letters patent, as well as other undertakings of the Church people.

May 6, 1707—His Majesty desires to be more fully informed in relation to the establishment of the Sisters de la Congregation. In any case he is not to allow them to be cloistered, for then they would be a burden, instead of being useful. His Majesty is informed that The Hospitalers of Montreal take simple vows, wear a uniform habit, etc. They are to leave off the habit. Insists specially on the execution of his orders in this matter. Will not be pleased if he does not carry them out to the letter. His Majesty is absolutely opposed to the hospital service being performed by persons wearing a uniform habit, and who have taken vows, whether simple or solemn, this being a charitable institution established for the relief of the public.

June 30, 1707—The King will continue his gratuity

to the hospital, Montreal, but on the express condition that the persons in charge shall not take vows, shall have no statutes, no uniform habit and shall not call themselves Brothers. Should they act otherwise, the establishment is to be suppressed.

July 12, 1707—His Majesty is quite willing to continue to grant to Les Hospitaliers of Montreal, the gratuity he has heretofore allowed them, but they are not to take any vows, or wear uniform habits, or assume the name of Brothers. There are already too many communities and convents in Canada. If they do not observe and adhere strictly to these conditions, they are to be dismissed.

Nov. 12, 1707—The King cannot permit the Sisters of La Congregation to be cloistered, their usefulness would be much impaired thereby.

June 6, 1708—The King is well pleased with the services being rendered to education by the nuns established at Ile St. Laurent, but if they take vows, they must be forbidden to do so. The King will never suffer it. His Majesty has refused the request of the Superior of l'Hospital General, to allow an increase of the number of sisters in the service.

Nov. 12, 1708—Report to the King: The Hospital Brothers have conformed to His Majesty's orders. They have laid aside their bands, girdles, and uniform habits.

May 10, 1710—To the bishop: His Majesty has considered the petitions of the Sisters of La Congregation de Quebec and of the Hospitaliers of Montreal, as well as his (the Bishop's) letter in support of their request. Is surprised at so much persistence. Their letters patent were granted on the express condition that they should make no vows. His Majesty adheres to it and begs that he, Mgr., conform to it.

May 23, 1710—The members of La Congregation de Ville Marie have asked permission to retain their simple vows. The King refuses to make any change in his orders in this matter.

March 14, 1714—The King cannot permit the Hospitalières of Quebec and Three Rivers to increase their number, any such increase being most prejudicial to the country.

May 5, 1716—Letters patent from the King giving power to increase by four the number of the nuns in the General Hospital at Quebec. (The number had been previously fixed at 10, with two lay sisters.)

June 7, 1720—To the bishop: The General Hospital at Quebec must admit invalid soldiers, and take the benefit of their half-pay. Grants request for an addition of 10 nuns, on condition that they be furnished with dowers.

February 12, 1748—His Majesty does not wish the General Hospital of Montreal to be turned into a community of women. There are already too many of them.

Royal Ordinance of 1743—No religious community shall exist or be formed without Royal permission and letters patent; the property such communities might hold was solely and exclusively that designated in the letters patent, and that it could not be added to either by gift, purchase or otherwise, without Royal Letters of permission. Notaries were forbidden to make or receive for the benefit of communities any deed, until after the production of letters permissive, and a decree ordering registration, whereof special mention is to be made in the said deeds under pain of nullity.

May 21, 1743—To the bishop: The King encloses a memorandum which shows the advantage of suppressing one religious community in Canada (the Charon Brothers).

January 18, 1748—The King has been graciously pleased to grant the request of the Hospitaliers of Quebec to admit into their community the four ladies named (daughters of officers), each with a dowry of 1,500 livres, but the King will not allow them to make further proposals of the nature in favor of no matter

whom. It is to be hoped, for the purpose of reducing the number of religious communities, the Hospitaliers and the nuns of the General Hospital will be amalgamated.

These official orders establish that the French Kings wanted no more monks and nuns in Canada than were needed in hospitals. They would have none who had taken perpetual vows, none who would not engage in nursing the sick, caring for the aged and helpless, or in teaching the Indians. The evidence is consistent and repeated for over a century, that monks and nuns who were to remain immured in cloisters, spending their time in prayer, meditation and penance, were not to be permitted admission into New France. The few convents authorized were ruled not by the bishop or their superiors, but by the King. This control was carried so far that neither bishop nor superior could take in new members: the King fixed their number, their location, and even their dress.

When the British took possession of Canada there were only four companies of nuns—those of the Hotel Dieu, of the Congregation, the Ursulines, the Hospitaliers; the total number about 150. Of male orders there were the Recollets, the Jesuits, the Seminarists, and the Hospitaliers, in all less than one hundred. The monastic system as found in Quebec to-day had no existence in New France. The visitor to Quebec, on seeing the massive blocks of buildings owned by monks and nuns, thinks he sees a survival of the time when Canada was under French rule. He sees nothing of the kind. Had Quebec continued under France neither those buildings nor those who live in them would have existed; buildings and inmates are monuments of British toleration and of the weakness of governors and of unprincipled politicians. So far from being antique, few of these buildings date farther back than 1841. Orders whom Louis XIV. and Louis XV. forbade setting foot in Quebec have crowded in within the past seventy years.

The Kings named ruled not only the monastic orders with a rod of iron, but exacted humiliating submission from bishop and priest. In proof, take these passages from their instructions to viceroys and intendants:

March 27, 1665—To Talon before he left Paris: Those who have made the most faithful and disinterested reports have always said that the Jesuits have assumed an authority to which they were not entitled. In order to maintain it they secured the appointment of M. de Laval as Bishop, as one entirely dependent upon them; in fact, they have also nominated the governors, and used every means to obtain the cancelling of the appointment of those who were not wholly devoted to their interests. You must study the situation and so act that the spiritual authority shall be subordinate to the temporal.

May 5, 1669—You must act most prudently with regard to the Bishop, or rather the Jesuits; as the country becomes more densely peopled, it will be easier to render the Royal authority paramount over that of the church. Meantime, you may, by setting cleverly about it, prevent, without causing rupture, any ambitious enterprises they may undertake.

May 17, 1669—You must maintain a good understanding with the ecclesiastical authorities, work for the establishment of the Recollets, and protect the Sulpicians, in order to moderate the authority assumed by the Jesuits.

June 13, 1673—Will send out two Recollet priests, and a like number every year, in order to counterbalance the excessive authority of the Jesuits. The Bishop (Laval) is not disposed to return to Canada this year. Unlike the ordinary clergy, the Jesuits do not appear to wish to attract the Indians to live with the French and become civilized. He must strive, in concert with the Recollets, to work a change in this matter.

April 16, 1676—You must with prudence take the

necessary measures to prevent the ecclesiastical power from encroaching in any respect upon the temporal, which it is somewhat inclined to do.

June 4, 1695—You must not permit the ecclesiastics to meddle with things temporal, nor must you fail to consult with them in private before exercising your authority; on the other hand, you must be very careful not to interfere in purely ecclesiastical matters.

May 27, 1669—You are to watch carefully over the interests of religion, and give every possible aid and encouragement to the missionaries, the Bishop and the parish priests, but must see that they do not encroach upon the civil power.

May 28, 1712—The King has informed the Bishop that for the collection of the tithes he must employ other means than the refusal of absolution and of the Sacrament at Easter.

The proof is overwhelming that the Kings of France acted on the same principle in Canada as they did at home—that in every domain of the Church except that of faith the King was supreme. The principle laid down by the French Kings was that the Pope was subject to the canons of the Church universal, that the rule of Kings was not to be interfered with by the Pope, that in temporal concerns the Church has no voice. These articles of the Gallican Church, the despatches that came from Versailles instructed their viceroys to maintain in Quebec.

April 15, 1676—You must see that the usual public prayers for the king are said in all churches. It is his purpose to preserve his own rights and those of the Gallican Church.

April 16, 1676—You must maintain the King's authority firmly in all that relates to military matters, and support the privileges of the Crown, and of the Gallican Church.

Following out the principle that the King was

supreme in the temporalities of the Church, Laval and his successors were not allowed a free hand in managing their clergy. The bishops wanted the priests to be at their absolute disposal, to be moved hither and thither as they willed: the King repeats his orders time and again that priests were to be fixtures in their parishes. Presentation to benefices and the nomination of the bishop were the King's prerogative. The Crown would not even allow the bishop to erect parishes. In 1717 the bishop petitioned that the erection and dismemberment of parishes may be left to his decision. Back came the answer from Paris:

"In the erection and dismemberment of parishes the Governor, the Intendant, and the Bishop, shall act conjointly, subject to ratification by the King."

One of the claims of the clergy of Quebec is that they are exempt from municipal taxation, which they base on an alleged immunity derived from the French regime. Even where a rate has been levied for providing improvements unknown during that regime, such as waterworks and sewage, convents have claimed exemption from paying their share, and judges have upheld them. Now, what was the custom under the French King? The bishop petitioned the King to instruct the intendant to exempt the Hotels Dieu of Montreal, Quebec and Three Rivers from statute labor and public rates, to remit the tax on the salt they needed, and grant them the right to sell meat during Lent. The petition was put under the table. The decree ordering a wall to be built round Montreal specifies that it shall be built at the expense of the inhabitants, at the rate of 6,000 livres a year, of which 2,000 shall be paid by the Seminary and the remainder by the other religious communities and the settlers. Among those included in this assessment were the Jesuits, who asked for a reduction in their amount. They did not get it. The Jesuits of Montreal paid municipal taxes under Louis XV.: they pay none under King George V. Even cures were not exempt. An

order of June, 1754, lays it down that only priests who have no real estate are to be excused from supplying pickets for the fortifications at Quebec, and, under date May 21, 1743, the King writes the bishop: "You should look into the question whether it is advisable to exempt the religious communities from paying tithes." They had been formally exempted by the King's order in 1682, but now he suggests they pay them out of their abundance, for these communities were now flourishing.

In New France the King nominated its bishops, its deans, and canons, kept the priests subordinate to him by paying part of their salaries, erected parishes, regulated the religious communities, fixing their number, prescribing their vows, their duties, their dress, and exacted from their real estate taxes for local purposes. Over, and above all, the interference of the clergy in civil affairs was sharply resented, and they were confined to their purely spiritual duties. The Kings of France wanted a Catholic Canada, but not a Papal one: ambitious of a French colony, the King was to be its supreme ruler, not the priesthood. Had the British continued the policy of the Kings of France towards the priests there would have been no tragedy of Quebec. The Church of Rome, as found in Quebec to-day, is no counterpart of the Church that existed when Wolfe scaled the heights of Abraham. Those who assert it is, are men who have a selfish interest in making the electors of Canada believe it is, and who are using a pious invention to bolster their claims to immunities and privileges no French King permitted, for, with an absolutism equal to their own, and linked to greater power, they, for 150 years, kept the priests of Canada subject to their will. After them, for 80 years, the governors, from Murray to Colborne, gave no encouragement to monastic institutions, which grew fewer, the male orders being suppressed with the exception of the Sulpicians and Seminaries. It was not until the union of Quebec with Ontario, when politi-

cians competed for the support of the hierarchy, that representatives of foreign orders appeared in the lobbies of the legislature, claiming recognition, and receiving acts of incorporation, accompanied, not infrequently, with public assistance in some form. Thus it went on until Confederation, when a fresh impetus was given to the influx of monks and nuns. Of late years the action of the French Government in suppressing monastic institutions has sent increased instalments, including several orders whose rule, in mortifying the body, is repugnant to humanity, from including practices of self-torture. Since Confederation, acts of incorporation have been granted by the Quebec legislature to fully forty new orders of monks and nuns, half the number since the new ecclesiastical laws began to be put into force in France. Twenty-five distinct orders of men, with over 3,000 members, have their headquarters in the Province of Quebec, and sixty-five of women, with considerably over ten thousand nuns. The number of convents and other monastic buildings exceed six hundred. To this has to be added the scores of convents established in the Northwest, which are offshoots of the orders in Quebec, financed and officered by them, directed and controlled, and, no matter though thousands of miles away, are one with the parent society. These innocent appearing convents and stations in the Northwest are little bits of Quebec. They are planted on the prairie or by sub-Arctic rivers in the expectation that they will lead to the reproduction of other Quebecs. To the members of monastic orders have to be added 2,500 priests, making a total approaching twenty thousand under vows. Adding novices and postulants greatly swells that number.

THE LEGAL PRETENCES OF THE PRIESTS.

The four authorities on which the priests base their title to the privileges they exercise are:

1. Prescriptive right, that they were theirs during the French regime;

2. The articles of capitulation and of the Treaty of Paris;

3. The Quebec Act;

4. The British North America Act.

1. All the records of the past disprove the claim that the priests enjoyed, during the period when the French Kings ruled, the privileges they claim.

2. Examination of the articles of capitulation, of the treaty of Paris, and of the royal instructions to governors, show they do not give even a color to their claims.

3. If the priests base their claim on the Quebec Act, then they must be content for the future with what it gave them and make reparation for their violation of article 8. It is not for men who have deliberately and flagrantly broken one part of a statute to invoke another part. At the best, the Quebec Act is merely a statute, and statutes can be amended or repealed.

4. The B. N. A. Act covers only a small part of the privileges exercised, and it can be changed at the will of the people. It has been amended several times, on the last occasion at the instance of Quebec in order that it might draw more money from the Federal chest.

There is no legal obstacle in the way of stripping the priesthood of Quebec of every one of their special privileges, and that they know such to be the case they show by their Herculean efforts to keep the Dominion in political thralldom. So long as they rule at Ottawa they are safe. Oscar Dunn, the ablest exponent of their claims, thus defines the course to be pursued:

“It is our duty, whether in Provincial or Dominion
“politics, to remember that our only hope, and our
“only safety, lies in being prompt to make alliances
“with the English factions. By uniting our forces
“and our votes at Ottawa we can always manage to

“secure the balance of power. . . . We must be French-Canadians first, Liberals or Conservatives afterwards.”

Another adds these words:

“With sixty-five members voting as a unit in the Commons of Canada, any politician of common intellect can control the destinies of the Dominion of Canada.”

WHAT THE PRIESTS RELY ON.

It is not on musty documents of the past the priests place their reliance, but in their hold on the electors of Quebec. Of them residents of other Provinces have no adequate conception. The Catholics they have intercourse with have had the teaching of their Church modified by education, by coming in contact with neighbors of other creeds, and by the insensible effect the reflected light of Protestantism has had upon them. There are counties in Quebec where natives may be found who never saw a Protestant: counties which are Catholic with the exception of two or three families. For instance, the census of 1901 showed that in the county of Bellechasse, out of 18,705 inhabitants, there was not a Protestant.

Montmorency 12,310 Catholics, one Protestant.

Kamouraska, 19,905 Catholics, four Protestants.

l'Islet 14,426 Catholics, 13 Protestants.

Charleviox 19,302 Catholics, 32 Protestants.

Montmagny 14,734 Catholics, 22 Protestants.

The course pursued by the Church of Rome is very different where it has undisputed sway from what it is where it is in the minority. Those who form an opinion of the Church of Rome in Quebec by what they know of it in Western Ontario are judging by the freshly-planted and closely-trimmed sapling at their door, of the full grown tree in Quebec they never saw. The attitude, the demeanor, the pretensions of the representatives of the Church of Rome in the two Provinces are widely different. Take, for instance,

their relation to politics. In the other Provinces the priests, in a quiet way, influence their people: in Quebec they command. The assumption of supreme authority is the same in all the Provinces, but where Protestants are in the majority it is concealed, it is veiled, it is left as a latent force to be called into activity when the time comes that will permit of its being brought into operation. In Quebec no prudential cause for reserve exists, the cloak is thrown aside, and the claim of the priesthood to supreme rule becomes active and absolute.

Of the French members sent to Ottawa, delightful in manners, well dressed, trained to speak and acquit themselves in public with ease, it is rare to find one who has not attended a church college. The priests provide a select class from among whom the electors are free to select a representative, and whether he be *bleu* or *rouge* signifies little in these modern days to their masters. The Church chooses and moulds the material for public men, and out of its leet the people take their pick. Properly speaking, the Quebec delegation to Ottawa does not represent the people; they are the product of an educational system peculiar to Quebec, are the prepared representatives of their Church, agents to carry out her wishes, and when her interests are to be defended or extended Liberal and Conservative vote as one man. They do not sit as free agents, for if they dared to act as such they would not be re-elected. No Dominion Cabinet is formed without referring to the views of the bishops: no Minister retains his portfolio who becomes objectionable to them: no lawyer made a judge for Quebec or the Supreme Court who is not approved by them. Can a department at Ottawa be named where their subtle influence is unknown? It penetrates into the council chamber, and has the coroneted executive for its sycophant.

Here pause and take a comprehensive view of the situation in the Province of Quebec. Mark the great

army of men and women who were taken from their families in their youth, and in seclusion from the outer world, prisoners to all intents and purposes, had their individuality obliterated and were disciplined into one mould. With that point reached, and fit for service, they are oath-bound to obey implicitly the commands of their superiors, who, with wealth beyond estimate, independent of law, with the Quebec legislature their creature, and the Federal Government standing in awe of them from their holding the balance of power in parliament, these superiors set about completing their design of becoming the permanent controlling political force of the Dominion.

A PAPAL NOT A FRENCH QUEBEC.

Are the conditions that prevail in Quebec a menace to the welfare and liberties of the other Provinces of the Dominion? To master the answer to this question, get rid of prepossessions, such as that the first object of the bishops is the conversion of Protestants, and fully realize what events during the past life of the Confederation have made apparent, namely, that what they first aim at, have worked for in the past, and are working for now with strenuous effort, is that the Papal power shall so predominate over Canada that the privileges the Church of Rome claims in Quebec shall be her privileges in every other Province—that what their Church has in Quebec it will hold, and from behind the entrenchments of Quebec shall the subjugation of the other Provinces be carried on. To accomplish this it is no army of drones that fills the field, and that army is marshalled and directed by the keenest and most daring intellects among us. More dangerous to the common good than its numbers, its discipline, its resources, is the fact that this army is animated, from the lowest to the highest, by the belief that they are the chosen of God, set apart from their fellows by an undefinable unction—that the laity are of another grade, the material from which their needs are to be

supplied, the huge mass to roll in the direction they arrange to carry out their will. They could not look upon the laity thus were it not that they have voluntarily cut those ties which bind society together, crushed the affections which are the noblest attributes of humanity, fled from obligations which at once constitute the units out of which nations are built, and which develop in men and women the purest manifestations of self-sacrifice. What is the purpose of this army of twenty thousand unsexed men and women that stands daily on duty in the Province of Quebec? Is it not to extend the power of the Church whose uniform they wear and whose bread they eat? The ambitions of those whom they regard as worldlings, their affections, pursuits, and employments, they look on as beneath them: their aim is to conquer the world for their ecclesiastical organization, bringing all subject to its sway. A French Quebec the Dominion could contemplate with complacency, because its people would differ from the other Provinces in speech alone: in every other regard they would be in touch with their fellow-subjects. Far different is a Papal Quebec, ruled by a Church and for a Church which teaches its followers to look on non-Catholics as heretics, and to have the least possible intercourse with them.

WHAT THE PRIESTS ARE DOING.

To comprehend what a Papal Quebec means the reader must rid himself of all theological notions. Look at the Church of Rome in Quebec not as the repository of certain religious doctrines, but in her civil aspect, as a complete and perfect society. Drop for the moment your conception of the bishops and their councillors as clergymen, and regard them as statesmen, who are fired by a conception before which Imperialism pales—of establishing the Papal authority above that of local and Federal legislatures for the governing of the people. As a religious body, in the exercise of spiritual functions, the Church of Rome has

a like claim to protection with other denominations, but in her other character, as we find her at work in Quebec, aiming to control the Dominion, she has to be met and shorn of her power. The instinct of self-preservation demands that—it is not intolerance to insist upon it. The people of the other Provinces are familiar with the Church of Rome as a religious system, but if they wish to know what it is as a temporal ruler they must come to Quebec and study it here. On doing so they will discover (1) that it means a system for keeping the French and English two separate peoples; (2) that it means schools which do not fit youth to act their part in a self-governing country; (3) it means the enthronement of a system of foreign law above those statutes enacted by parliament; (4) it means suppression of free speech and of a free press. Not even those Montreal newspapers, housed in palatial blocks with magnificent mechanical plants, which boast of immense circulation and great resources, dare advocate views different from those the clergy favor on education, law, or government, for their proprietors know they would be brought to their knees before the archbishop by the threat of their papers being placed under the ban. Were a public man to advocate non-sectarian schools, to urge it was high time for Frenchmen to repudiate Italian domination, to point to monastic orders as an incubus on prosperity, he would be doomed, every constituency would be barred to him. Vainly thinking they are free, they are in reality in thrall, for they place the exercise of the highest gifts of God—freedom of thought, of speech, of action—under the direction of a fellow-creature. (5) It means a rule above that of the Crown. When the bishops come before the legislature they do not prefer their requests as subjects, but as superior beings, who come with an authority laymen must obey. Liberty rests on the equality of all subjects, and the sovereignty of the popular will as expressed by a free assembly. To acknowledge that a certain cluster of individuals soar

above the great body of their fellows, are of another type and quality, that they are the God-appointed pilots to indicate how the Ship of State is to be steered, is to pierce the heart of constitutional government. If Canada is to continue to be a nation of freemen, it is necessary alike to demand that all interference by these clerics cease, and to repudiate the claim on which they base their pretension to interfere. It intensifies though it does not affect the merits of the situation, that these clerics assume their airs of superiority because of an office bestowed by a foreign power, and that a power repudiated by the Motherland and by a majority of Canadians. Apart from every other consideration, a government influenced by the agents of the Vatican would not be a free government. What sense in boasting of our freedom, in holding up our constitution for other British dependencies to copy, when the controlling power is of foreign inspiration? The British North America Act had to be approved by the Pope before Quebec would accept Confederation. The constitutions of Saskatchewan and Alberta were drafted to suit his representative at Ottawa. The sovereign will of the people has to be vindicated in Canada—the battle of our fathers against ecclesiastical usurpation has to be fought over again and decided on the virgin soil of Canada. It is monstrous that such a contest should be forced on the people of a new country. It shall be to their everlasting shame if they evade it and do not repeat the victory of their fathers.

It is vexatious, it is passing strange, that difficulties peculiar to continental Europe should embarrass the development of British institutions in our Dominion. The origin of the difficulty is apparent. A bit of medieval Europe, plucked from its native soil, was planted on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and sceptical of the warnings as to its nature, it has been nourished by those who ought to have kept it within bounds, until it has become vigorous enough to overshadow our country. Is it possible that Canada can be drag-

ged under the influences of three centuries ago? It would not be possible did the electors recognize the situation, but when it is considered how the leaders of both our political parties pander to the bishops for their support, how our history is a record of concession after concession made to them, how our North-west is being dotted with colonies of foreigners—hordes from Austria-Hungary, Poland, Italy, notorious for their subserviency to Rome—he who ardently desires to see Canada British in deed as well as name has solid grounds for the fear that a day may come when, like the governments of Europe in the past, like that of Quebec at this hour, its real rulers will be ecclesiastics. The forms, names, and procedure of constitutionalism go for nothing when its spirit has fled. The bishops can rule as effectively from behind a screen of governors and premiers, senators and members, as ever did Richelieu or Mazarin in their princely ostentation. The danger-centre of the Dominion is Quebec. A French Quebec, free in thought and action, would be no menace to the Dominion; a Papal Quebec is, for it stands for a power that is not working for the common good, but for a Church; which is not seeking to exalt our country by strengthening its unity, binding man to man in the bonds of common interests and of a common brotherhood, but schemes to keep them asunder, to set race against race, and, by every art and means within its reach, to obtain more influence, more power for an organization of ecclesiastics who draw their inspiration from a foreign country and a foreign court.

WHAT PAPAL QUEBEC IS DOING.

Keeping it well in mind that it is not a French but a Papal Quebec with which the Dominion has to deal, let it be asked, What is this Papal Quebec, with its great army of monks, nuns and priests, doing? I have shown already it is obtaining possession of the Eastern Townships, that in them Protestants are fast

melting away. Is that all? Will this great army be content with Quebec? The answer could be given in extracts from sermons and pastoral letters. It will save space to take the summary of one of the ablest Jesuits, Father Hamon. In his hand-book on missions, those of New England in particular, he says the movement, begun over forty years ago, to extend the parish system over the Eastern Townships had a larger design than merely expelling their Protestant farmers; it was a necessary step towards the conquest of New England for the Papacy. In the manufacturing centres of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts are hundreds of thousands of French-Canadians, who are separated from their compatriots on the St. Lawrence by a belt of Protestants. Remove that belt and the two branches of Catholics will become one, and what then? I quote the Father's words:

"See what will happen when the French-Canadian race shall have completely occupied the space relatively restricted and found between the south shore of the St. Lawrence and the American boundary, that which we call the Eastern Townships. It will not probably take more than another generation to accomplish this work. Then the grand invasion (of the Republic) will commence. . . . When the French-Canadians shall have arrived in mass at the American boundary line, they will find more than half a million of their compatriots awaiting them . . . who have the Canadian parish organized as absolutely as in Quebec, and are very decided, while discharging their duties loyally as citizens, to remain, everywhere Roman Catholic and French. . . . The French-Canadians in the United States will soon be too numerous and influential for any political party, whatever it might wish to do, to dare to dispute their privileges. . . . According to Bishop de Goesbriand, the French-Canadians are fulfilling a providential mission, they compete on their part for the pacific conquest of New England in the

“name of religion. When the collisions occasioned by
“the strife of the struggle for the installation of par-
“ishes and of district schools shall have calmed,
“ . . . they will rally with Catholics of other
“nationalities around the cross to defend or regain
“their common rights. This will assure to the Roman
“Catholic Church a magnificent position in New Eng-
“land, which was the cradle, and remained for a great
“while the citadel of American Protestantism. . . .
“The American union is too big to be managed suc-
“cessfully. It is within the range of the possible
“that there will be a breakup when Quebec, New
“Brunswick, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts,
“Rhode Island, and, possibly, Eastern Ontario, will
“constitute a distinct republic giving a spirit and char-
“acter to the new republic.”

This idea of Hamon's that there will be a disruption of the United States, and that in the formation of its north-eastern section into a new republic, the priesthood will dominate, is not peculiar to him. It is common to many. Bishop Lafleche, of Three Rivers, wrote:

“In the more or less distant future, and for causes
“already apparent, the American republic will be
“divided into several independent States, and it is
“not improbable that a portion of this last republic
“will seek annexation to Canada.”

In speculating on the future of Quebec clerical writers see only two alternatives—*independence* or *annexation*. None have a word in favor of Britain. Hamon's remarks are worth quoting:

“Two suppositions seem possible: either the Pro-
“vince of Quebec will one day have its autonomy, and
“will become an independent nation; or else it will
“be annexed to the United States. Independence or
“annexation—these are the two possible hypothesis.
“Independent, the Province of Quebec would have all
“the haughtiness and ambition of a young nation, its
“people high-spirited, daring, proud of being, at last,

“the master of their destinies. . . . Annexation
“would immediately weld together two fractions of
“the same people, separated at the present time by a
“political frontier. Instead of being 400,000 the
“French-Canadians in the United States would form
“with those of Quebec a compact whole of two mil-
“lion souls.”

It will be noted that Eastern Ontario is counted upon to form part of the confidently expected great Catholic Republic. Its conquest is now going on, with an advance guard thrown out to invade the Northwest. Just as Frontenac established a chain of forts from Kingston to the Mississippi to take possession of the heart of the continent for France, so Rome has established settlements of French-Canadians from Ottawa to lake Nipissing to control the future avenue by water to the Northwest. Hear again what Father Hamon says:

“None of the obstacles met have checked the settle-
“ment of the valley of the Ottawa and of the Province
“of Ontario. And yet, for the French-Canadian, is
“not Ontario a country different from theirs, both in
“religion and language, and even in politics, in that, at
“least, which relates to local interests? In spite of
“these difficulties, in spite of a tenacious English ele-
“ment, hostile to the invasion and seeking by all possi-
“ble means to prevent it, the French-Canadian pushes
“toward the end for which he set out. The French-
“Canadians infiltrate themselves everywhere in those
“counties of Ontario which divide it from the Pro-
“vince of Quebec, and continue bravely to march to-
“ward the West. The policy of the Church is to
“guide the movement, plan and forward settlement,
“establish the parish system, the parochial school, and
“the religious and national societies; then, to watch
“and wait for providential developments, that she may
“mass and lead the people for the effective overthrow
“of Protestant error and paganism. . . . The
“French-Canadian race is God’s chosen people to save

“North America and to restore its population to the bosom of the Church of Rome. Is this a dream? “No, it is more: it is an every-day issue.”

Ponder over these words and see how the extension by the Federal Government of Quebec's northern boundary from the height of land to the Hudson Bay, and how the request of the Grand Trunk Company to extend its line from North Bay to the Pacific was seized to secure the construction of a railway through northern Quebec, fall in with the plan of the bishops. Protestant members of parliament, who voted for both, regarding the extension of boundary of no great moment, viewing the running of the line of railway as a mere commercial consideration, may now learn how they were aiding in carrying out designs that were formed in secret conclave.

THE VOTE OF THE QUEBEC ELECTORS.

The priests, at present, have the shaping of the course of the Ship of State. They have got this masterful position by taking advantage of the natural feeling of the habitants in favor of their language and customs. That feeling the priests have nursed and intensified. They have used every means, they have lost no opportunity to impress them with the belief that absolute submission to their priests is the only possible means of preserving their language and customs. Nobody is assailing the French language nor troubling themselves about French customs, but as children are frightened to go to bed by bugaboo stories, the habitants are driven into compliance with the designs of the priesthood by the invention that there are enemies who seek to destroy their language and customs, but who will be unable to do so while they maintain their priests as their defenders. That in this twentieth century, on a continent the very air of which is democratic, a body of men are laboring to bring about the creation of a Papal nation sounds

incredible, yet it is true, for we have the words of the priests themselves.

THE CLAIM OF SUPREMACY OVER THE STATE.

It is a self-apparent truth, that the peace of no country can be assured which is not governed solely in the interests of its people. When there is planted in the midst of a country a compact body of men and women whose interests are not those of the masses, whose lives are devoted not to furthering the common good but to the upbuilding of an ecclesiastical organization, strife must follow. The spirit of independence instinctive to human nature will not submit to dictation. Necessarily any organization that seeks to establish its rule must work through the ordinary agencies of the social state—the school, the courts, the press, the political convention, parliament, bending them to advance its cause, and laboring persistently through them until its object is attained—the government of the Dominion in accordance with the will of men who pretend to have authority direct from God. The history of Quebec illustrates this, and that Province stands an object-lesson to its sisters of what its hierarchy is working to make them. Entrenched in Quebec is an organization that threatens the existence of civil and religious liberty wherever it extends its arms. Shall that organization be left in its plenitude of power to be a menace to the Dominion, or shall it be reduced to a condition of harmlessness? Do not take the word of the writer as to the authority the bishops of Quebec claim in interfering with the affairs of the other Provinces. Listen to their own words in their pastoral of May, 1896, in defence of their movement to force Separate Schools on Manitoba:

“If the bishops, whose authority issues from God himself, are the natural judges of all questions which touch upon the Christian faith and morals; if they are the acknowledged heads of a perfect condition of society, sovereign in itself and standing above that

“of the State; it follows that it is in their province, when circumstances render it desirable, not merely to express generally their views and wishes in regard to religious matters, but also to indicate to the faithful the best means of attaining the spiritual ends in view.”

The bishops retaining the deciding of questions touching upon faith and morals, gives them control over all legislation. Let those Provinces that think themselves safe, consider this, that the measure of Rome's privileges in Quebec is the standard of Rome's demands in the rest of the Dominion. What they possess in Quebec is the claim of the bishops at this hour in Manitoba and her sister Provinces. The great issue that has to be faced by Canada as a nation, an issue that cannot be evaded and the settlement of which is fast becoming imperative, is the disestablishment of the Church of Rome in Quebec. The issue is ecclesiastical. It is common to speak as if it were one of race, a misconception fostered by those whose interest it is to have the French-Canadian identify his cause with that of the bishops.

THE FRENCH-CANADIAN.

The conventional talk about national characteristics needs modifying. The difference between the English and the French-speaking Canadian is not due to race, it is caused by conditions. Give the English boy the same training in youth as the French boy, and reverse the position of the French boy, giving him an English training, and see how little race has to do with the traits we call national. Both peoples are essentially the same. That the French have been kept apart is due to those whose interest it is to hold them their exclusive subjects. It is the black robes who stand between kindred peoples. Their motive is apparent. In his text-book Father Hamon writes:

“The habitant cannot be changed so long as he retains his language, therefore French should be

“maintained as his sole means of communication, and so be preserved in his religion. Thus Protestant aggression, by use of the platform and press, will be powerless to disturb or pervert their faith. In their language is the conservation of their religion.”

The Church of Rome claims to be universal. In Quebec it identifies itself with the French race and the French language. If it be peculiarly the Church of the French, what about the English Catholics, whose language and race it necessarily discriminates against. And what about its claim of universality? To the priests of a universal Church, French and English would be alike, with no preference for either. Examination will show that, by their constant exhortation to their people to keep to their language, and that its maintenance depends on their standing by the Church of Rome, the priests really do not esteem French above all other languages, but speak so merely to keep the habitant in their thrall. If the priests loved the French language they would not discourage the study of modern literature, the reading of Paris periodicals, and all intercourse with old France. It is a Papal, not a French preserve they work for. Look at the United States, where the French-Canadians are no longer under priestly control, and mark how they develop and rise to the place nature designed they should occupy. Look at the French Protestants in Quebec, and mark how they become one in heart and purpose with their English neighbors, while retaining their language and customs. Language is no insurmountable barrier. The French have an inalienable right to the language they so dearly cherish. Nature has been kind to them in giving them a remarkable capacity for learning other languages, and they are recognizing more and more that English is the medium of business, the key that opens to them the avenues of advancement offered by over a hundred millions of people. The time will never come when they will cease to speak French, but the time will come when

there will be many more who can speak English, and in this they will have a great advantage over the English who only know one language. Those who speak disparagingly of the French, do so in ignorance. If they lived among them, had they come to know the excellent qualities of head and heart that are native to them, they would be ashamed to so regard them. They who so act show the same spirit as the priesthood of Quebec, in raising barriers to prevent full intercourse with the English, attempting to bind the French into a solidarity that suits their purpose. Every man has a claim to be judged on his own merits; to discriminate between man and man on the score of origin is sinful prejudice. Judge him of French origin as you would an Englishman, be blind neither to his faults nor his excellencies, and make him feel that he stands on a level with yourself. It is high time that this distinction as to race be dropped in the Dominion, that the truth be recognized that origin gives no privilege, no claim to superiority, that the highest title is that of being a British subject, and the only name for any of us to boast is that of Canadian. To use the term autonomy in the sense of preserving by public authority and resources any race or creed is destructive of the unity Canada demands.

WHAT WE SEE IN THE UNITED STATES.

The problem that confronts our country being not one of race or language, but of a compact and powerful body of ecclesiastics who would establish their rule as supreme, and who, in seeking that end, use, as they would any other prejudice, appeals to race and language, the question before the electors is, whether they are going to recognize that rule. When the Kings of France, among them he who revoked the Edict of Nantes, earning thereby a special blessing from the Pope, the promise of the eternal praises of the Church, solved the difficulty by placing the State above the

Church, why should it be blasphemy for any Catholic to propose what these eminent sons of the Church did? Refer to the extracts from the despatches of these Kings already given, and see how determinedly they kept bishop and priest in check. Yet those Kings who would not permit cloistered convents, would not allow nuns to wear uniforms, resented interference by cure or bishop with secular affairs, were Catholics, the eldest sons of the Church, blessed and honored by the Popes as no other monarchs of their times were. Why raise hands in horror when it is proposed to do in the twentieth century what was accepted by Pope and bishop in the eighteenth? The disestablishment of the Church of Rome in Quebec must come if Canadians are to remain in truth, and not merely in name, a self-governing people. In the United States all Churches are equal, none having special privileges. Will any one dare say, because that is so, American Catholics are inferior to the Catholics of Quebec? American Catholics pay no tithes, they build their churches by voluntary contributions, they send their children to the same schools as their neighbors, when a candidate for public office solicits their vote they do not ask whether he is approved by their bishop, no mandements are proclaimed from the altar telling what books and newspapers they must not read, what meetings they must not attend, there is no interference with freedom of speech and press. Because American Catholics profess their faith under such different conditions from those of Quebec, who calls them bad Catholics? What is orthodox south of the boundary line cannot be reprehensible north of it. If French-Canadian Catholics who have gone to the States are emancipated from obligations they are held to in Canada, and are still counted among the faithful, why is it wrong to advocate that those on the Quebec side of the border be relieved from a system that may have had its use in feudal times, but is incompatible with the conditions of the twentieth century?

THE CLAIM TO DIVINE AUTHORITY.

In the last analysis of the subject, it will be found the political issue that has been forced on the Dominion is simply whether the people or the priests are to be supreme. Under the pretence that they possess divine authority, the priests claim to be above the people, and to their requirements governments must conform. With whether they have divine authority or not no British subject requires for a moment to trouble himself, he leaves that to theologians. The question so far as Britain is concerned was settled once for all three hundred years ago, by the Act of Supremacy, passed in the days of Queen Elizabeth, which vested the sole control of the government in the estates that represented the people. It is the basis of the British constitution that the people are sovereign and to swerve from that grand principle is treason. This, then, is our answer to the priests: We repudiate your claim to any other voice in the government of the country than what pertains to you as British subjects—with your pretensions to divine authority we have nothing to do, and will not consider.

The call to every Briton is to make a stand on behalf of British institutions, and to make it at once. Any plan of resistance will prove vain that does not comprehend that the movement is Papal, that the French-Canadians are simply used as tools, and that the cry of a French nation is adopted to cover what is really aimed at, a nation subject to and controlled by Papal influence. To Sbarretti what do French-Canadians signify? He would sooner have Italians were they to land in sufficient number and be as obedient as the habitants. Once the people outside Quebec realize the fact that a gigantic movement is in progress to enthrone the rule of a foreign government under the name of religion, they will proceed to deal with the people who shelter themselves under a cloak of divinity.

THE INJURY DONE THE FRENCH-CANADIANS.

The Church of Rome is dual: it is a spiritual system, and it is a political system. In the United States it is a spiritual system: in Quebec it is as much political as spiritual. The French-Canadian who looks back on the history of his race on this continent will see how his Church in its political capacity has been its blight. The intolerance that drove the Huguenots away was the first step in the failure of New France. Rome backed the Kings of France in keeping the habitants vassals, isolated, and without that education that would have enabled them to hold their own with their neighbors to the south. It was priestly intrigues that blocked Frontenac's efforts to make New France a nation. Under English rule the interests of the habitants were, whenever opportunity offered, traded for the advancement of the Church. When fostering the aspirations for national autonomy suited the purposes of the bishops, they clapped the leaders on the back; when deserting was to win advantages for the Church, they denounced them in pastoral letters. It has ever been the same, when public men have served their purpose and become a hindrance they were cast aside. A prominent illustration is found in the career of Mercier. When he had exhausted his popularity by doing their bidding, the bishops threw him away like a squeezed lemon, by leaving him to be defeated in the election of 1891. No injury done the habitants equals that visited on the tens of thousands who have gone to the New England States. With their skill of hand and their facility in learning, they ought to fill the best positions. From lack of elementary education, withheld from them in their native parishes because it suited the purposes of the bishops, they far too often fill the commonest and worst-paid callings. Arrogating to herself the character of their preserver, Rome has been the worst enemy of the French people of Canada, for she has used them to advance her own interests and

not theirs. To only one object the controllers of that Church in Quebec have been unwaveringly true, the aggrandizement of their order and organization. To attain those ends they have played with national prejudices as with counters in the great game of politics. Holding the mass of the people subject to their bidding, they speak and work in parliament through a body of men they have trained for the purpose, a second caste yet subject to their own, with the object of making, as near as may be, the Dominion what Quebec is.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

May the tragical fate of the English farm settlements of Quebec be a warning to the people of the other Provinces, to rise above their local affairs, and grapple with the great issue that is before them, and which the longer it remains unsettled, the more complex and difficult it will become. The union of Church and State in Quebec is incompatible with the stability of the Dominion. The existence of that system in one Province will be found, as in session after session of late years, a menace to the other Provinces and a constant hindrance to the proper working of the Federal Government. No Church can with safety to the public weal be given a preference by the State over other Churches, and the State cannot become the servant of any Church without conjuring a hundred troubles. Separation of Church and State would have saved the English-speaking settlements of Quebec; separation of Church and State can alone save the Dominion.

.

Are you who read these lines convinced that a Papal Quebec is a menace to your rights as a British subject, a drag on the development of Canada as a self-governing country? If you are, act on that conviction. Why be misled, when you have a ballot to

cast, by party names and party cries? Will you not henceforth make it your first consideration to vote for no candidate who is not sound on the principle, that there must be complete separation between Church and State? To carry this into effect there are certain reforms to be attended to at once, others that will take agitation to obtain. No delay ought to be tolerated in

1. Removing from the constitutions of Saskatchewan and Alberta the education clause.

2. The stopping of acts of incorporation to religious organizations.

3. The withdrawal of all grants of money or land from all religious bodies, no matter under what pretence these subsidies were given.

These reforms would prevent the situation growing worse, and are of such a kind as permit of instant enforcement. To sever the roots which interlace Church and State will take time, and the most effective means of doing that is the adoption of the laws now in force in France with regard to religious associations, making such changes in them as the differing circumstances of Canada require. The evil that threatens, the shaping of the Dominion's destiny to suit a body of ecclesiastics, is too menacing to be dealt with by a feeble hand, and the laws the French people need to secure them in their civil rights cannot be too drastic for us. When these laws were outlined by Gambetta, he was derided by the clerical party as a dreamer of impossibilities. A generation had scarce passed when the voice of France embodied them in statutes which are enforced with an iron hand.

THE CONVENTUAL SYSTEM.

English-speaking people have forgotten what the conventual system is. It was so intolerable to our fathers that they utterly destroyed it. Its revival in a sporadic form in Protestant communities is regarded with something of sentimental interest, nuns and monks

having a halo cast around them which an intimate knowledge of their commonplace characters and shallow natures would dissipate. What is the judgment of every age and every country upon them? There is not a Catholic country to-day, not even Italy, where monastic institutions are not restricted by law, where their accumulations of wealth have not been forfeited for public purposes, and certain orders suppressed. This was done not by Protestants but by Catholics, and why? Because they were found to be injurious to society and an obstacle to government by the people and for the people. The only countries where convents and monasteries are left undisturbed, are not regulated by law, are Protestant countries, and, in Canada at least, they are abusing that forbearance in aiding to bring our Government under clerical influence. France saw that their suppression was essential for the public good, and enacted laws regarding them which every Catholic country will yet copy. The proposal that these laws of Old France be adopted by Canada will be mocked as preposterous, as unattainable. If they are not enacted on the soil of New France, then Canada will never be wholly free—the influence which rises from the monastic system where, as in Quebec, it is numerous and wealthy, is a potent instrument in the hands of the bishops to crush the will of the people and control our public men. The enlightening of the electors as to the true nature of the conditions that exist may be slow, and their realization of the course they should take may be slower still, but as they comprehend the imminence of the danger that threatens them, they will come to see that in such legislation as is here indicated lies protection from the tyranny that is moving to get them in its grasp.

The future peace of Canada depends on the enactment of equal rights, which can only be secured by equal laws. Your motive of action is not the securing of exclusive benefits for a section of our people, or the elevation of a select ecclesiastical caste. Far

from it, your motive is to bestow the fullest liberty on every Canadian by placing all on an equality. That is the call of your country. Dare you refuse to obey? Shall Canada be a land of equal rights, or shall it have a privileged class with its Government subservient to that class? It lies with you and your fellow-electors to decide.

The End.

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Appendix

No. 1.

Page 26.—“What the Jesuit meant by converting the Indian was baptizing him.” The following is an extract from a private letter written by a French officer, quoted by Abbe Tanguay in his *A Travers les Regitres*:

April 3, 1696:—On my first arrival at Montreal, I entered by the St. Francois gate. I met there a countryman of mine, who advanced to greet me, and after exchanging a few courteous words, he said he belonged to my company. During our interview, he noticed that my attention was drawn to a large concourse of people, which I saw on the Jesuits land (now known as the Place d'Armes). My new acquaintance thereon remarked, “Faith, you have come in the nick of time, to witness the roasting alive of four Iroquois. Let us draw nearer,” he added, “we can then see better.”

The bloody drama was to be enacted in front of the Jesuits entrance. I thought at first that the miserable wretches were to be cast into the flames, but on looking round I could see no funeral pile for such a hecatomb. I then questioned my new friend as to the object of several small fires, which I observed, lit at certain distances from one another. He replied, “Just wait a little and we will enjoy a good joke. It won't be a joke for every one, however.”

The four Indians were led forth, all were brothers, and the finest specimens of humanity I had ever seen. The Jesuits administered baptism to them as well as some exhortations which were short, else it would have been like decking the head of a dead man. The holy ceremony over, the Redskins were taken and devoted to the tortures of which they are the inventors. They were tied naked to posts stuck in the earth three or four feet apart, when every one of our Indian allies and many French men armed themselves with fragments of iron red hot, with which they singed every portion of their bodies. The small fires, I had noticed, were intended as furnaces to heat the abominable implements of torture, with which the victims were roasted. Their sufferings lasted six hours, during which the braves never ceased singing their feats in war whilst swallowing brandy.

Thus perished these unfortunates, exhibiting unspeakable constancy and courage.

No. 2.

Page 58.—Capitulation of Montreal. Articles of capitulation of Montreal, giving those relating to religion. In the first of these articles the French governor asked that:

The free exercise of the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion shall subsist entire, in such manner that all the states and the people of the towns and countries, places and distant posts shall continue to assemble in the churches, and to frequent the sacraments as heretofore, without being molested in any manner, directly or indirectly. These people shall be obliged, by the English government, to pay their priests the tithes, and all the taxes they were used to pay under the government of his most Christian Majesty.

Answer of the British General: Granted, as to the free exercise of their religion, the obligation of paying the tithes to the priests will depend on the king's pleasure.

The French Governor asked that: The chapter, priests, curates and missionaries shall continue, with an entire liberty, their exercise and functions of cures, in the parishes of the towns and countries.

Answer of the British General: Granted.

The French Governor asked that: The grand vicars, named by the chapter to administer to the diocese during the vacancy of the Episcopal see, shall have liberty to dwell in the towns and country parishes, as they shall think proper. They shall at all times be free to visit the different parishes of the diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction they exercised under the French Dominion. They shall enjoy the same rights in case of the death of the future bishop, of which mention will be made in the following article.

Answer of the British General: Granted, except what regards the following article.

The French Governor asked that: If by the treaty of Peace, Canada should remain in the power of his Britannic Majesty, his most Christian Majesty shall continue to name the bishop of the colony, who shall always be of the Roman communion, and under whose authority the people shall exercise the Roman religion.

Answer of the British General: Refused.

The French Governor asked that: The bishop shall, in case of need, establish new parishes, and provide for the rebuilding of his cathedral and his episcopal palace; and, in the meantime he shall have the liberty to dwell in the towns or parishes, as he shall judge proper. He shall be at liberty to visit his diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction which his predecessor exercised under the French Dominion, save that an oath of

fidelity, or a promise to do nothing contrary to his Britannic Majesty's service, may be required of him.

Answer of the British General: This article is comprised under the foregoing.

The French Governor asked that: The communities of nuns shall be preserved in their constitutions and privileges; they shall continue to observe their rules, they shall be exempted from lodging any military; and it shall be forbid to molest them in their religious exercises, or to enter their monasteries: safeguards shall even be given them, if they desire them.

Answer of the British General: Granted.

The French Governor asked that: The preceding article shall likewise be executed, with regard to the communities of Jesuits and Recollets and of the house of the priests of St. Sulpice at Montreal; these last, and the Jesuits, shall preserve their right to nominate to certain curacies and missions, as heretofore.

Answer of the British General: Refused till the king's pleasure be known.

The French Governor asked that: All the communities, and all the priests, shall preserve their moveables, the property and revenues of the seignories and other estates, which they possess in the colony, of what nature soever they may be; and the same estates shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honors, and exemptions.

Answer of the British General: Granted.

The French Governor asked that: The savages or Indian allies of his Most Christian Majesty, shall be maintained in the lands they inhabit; if they choose to remain there; they shall not be molested on any pretence whatsoever for having carried arms, and served his most Christian Majesty; they shall have, as well as the French, liberty of religion, and shall keep their missionaries. The actual vicar-general, and the bishop, when the Episcopal see shall be filled, shall have leave to send to them new missionaries when they shall judge it necessary.

Answer of the British General: Granted, except the last article, which has been already refused.

No. 3.

Page 81.—Royal instructions to Governor Carleton given 3rd January, 1775.

The establishment of proper regulations in matters of ecclesiastical concern is an object of very great importance, and it will be your indispensable duty to lose no time in making such arrangements in regard thereto, as may give full satisfaction to our new subjects in every point, in which they have a right to any indulgence on that head; always

remembering, that it is a toleration of the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome only, to which they are entitled, but not to the powers and privileges of it as an established church, for that is a preference, which belongs only to the Protestant Church of England.

Upon these principles, therefore, and to the end, that our just supremacy in all matters ecclesiastical, as well as civil, may have its due scope and influence, it is our will and pleasure:

First—That all appeals to, or correspondence with any foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction, of what nature or kind soever, be absolutely forbidden under very severe penalties.

Secondly—That no episcopal or vicarial powers be exercised within our said province by any person professing the religion of the Church of Rome, but such only as are essentially and indispensably necessary to the free exercise of the Romish religion; and in those cases not without a license and permission from you under the seal of our said province, for, and during our will and pleasure, and under such other limitations and restrictions as may correspond with the spirit and provision of the act of parliament, "for making more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec;" and no person whatever is to have holy orders, conferred upon him, or to have the cure of souls without a license for that purpose first had and obtained from you.

Thirdly—That no person professing the religion of the Church of Rome be allowed to fill any ecclesiastical benefice, or to have or enjoy any of the rights or profits belonging thereto, that is not a Canadian by birth, (such only excepted, as are now in possession of any such benefice) and that is not appointed thereto by us, or by, or under our authority, and that all right, or claim of right in any other person whatever to nominate, present, or appoint to any vacant benefice, other than such as may lay claim to the patronage of benefices, as a civil right, be absolutely abolished. No person to hold more than one benefice, or at least not more than can reasonably be served by one and the same incumbent.

Fourthly—That no person, whatever, professing the religion of the Church of Rome, be appointed incumbent of any parish, in which the majority of the inhabitants shall solicit the appointment of a Protestant, and entitled to all tithes payable within such parish; but, nevertheless, the Roman Catholics may have the use of the church for the free exercise of their religion at such time, as may not interfere with the religious worship of the Protestants. And in like manner the Protestant inhabitants in every parish, where the majority of the parishioners are Roman Catholics, shall, notwithstanding, have the use of the church for the exercise of their religion at such times as may not interfere with the religious worship of the Roman Catholics.

Fifthly—That no incumbent professing the religion of the Church of Rome, appointed to any parish, shall be entitled to receive any tithes for lands, or possessions occupied by a Protestant; but such tithes shall be received by such persons as you shall appoint, and shall be reserved in the hands of our receiver-general, as aforesaid, for the support of a Protestant clergy in our said province to be actually resident within the same, and not otherwise, according to such directions as you shall receive from us in that behalf. And in like manner all growing rents and profits of a vacant benefice shall, during such vacancy, be reserved for and applied to the like uses.

Sixthly—That all persons professing the religion of the Church of Rome, which are already possessed of, or may hereafter be appointed to any ecclesiastical benefice, or who may be licensed to exercise any power or authority in respect thereto, do take and subscribe before you in council, or before such person as you shall appoint to administer the same, the oath required to be taken and subscribed by the act of 1774.

Seventhly—That all incumbents of parishes shall hold their respective benefices during good behavior, subject, however, in cases of any conviction for criminal offences, or upon due proof of seditious attempts to disturb the peace and tranquility of our government, to be deprived, or suspended by you with the advice and consent of a majority of our said council.

Eighthly—That such ecclesiastics as may think fit to enter into the holy state of matrimony, shall be released from all penalties to which they may have been subjected in such cases by any authority of the See of Rome.

Ninthly—That freedom of burial of dead in churches and church yards be allowed indiscriminately to every Christian persuasion.

Tenthly—That the royal family be prayed for in all churches and places of holy worship, in such manner and form as are used in this kingdom; and that Our Arms and Insignia be put up not only in all such churches and places of holy worship, but also in all courts of justice; and that the arms of France be taken down in every such church or court where they may at present remain.

That all missionaries amongst the Indians, whether established under the authority of, or appointed by the Jesuits, or by any other ecclesiastical authority of the Romish Church, be withdrawn by degrees, and at such times and in such manner as shall be satisfactory to the said Indians, and consistent with the public safety; and Protestant missionaries appointed in their places; that all ecclesiastical persons whatsoever, of the Church of Rome, be inhibited, upon pain of deprivation, from influencing any person in the making of a

will, from inveighing Protestants to become Papists, or from tampering with them in matter of religion, and that the Romish priests be forbid to inveigh in their sermons against the religion of the Church of England, or to marry, baptize, or visit the sick, or bury any of our Protestant subjects, if a Protestant minister be upon the spot.

You are at all times and upon all occasions to give every countenance and protection in your power to such Protestant ministers, and schoolmasters, as are already establish within our said province, or may hereafter be sent thither.

Page 77.—“The grave results that would flow from the bill were finely expressed by Sergeant Glynn and Burke.”

During the debate on the Quebec Act, June 10, 1774, Sergeant Glynn spoke as follows: To any predilection of the Canadians for their ancient laws and customs, I should be inclined as much as anyone to yield, as far as I could do so with safety; but to carry my compliance to the exclusion of the laws of England—to consent to substitute in their place the laws of France—and to add to all this a form of legislature correspondent to that of the kingdom whence those laws were borrowed, is what I never can consent to. And I own my objection to the measure was strengthened when I was told, that there was a prejudice and predilection in these people favorable to those laws, and that it was considered good policy to avail ourselves of this predilection, to build a system of government upon it so contrary to our own. I should have thought it was rather our duty, by all gentle means, to root these prejudices from the minds of the Canadians, to attach them by degrees to the civil government of England, and to rivet the union by the strong ties of laws, of language, and religion. You have followed the opposite principle; which, instead of making it a secure possession to this country, will cause it to remain forever, a dangerous one. I have contemplated with some horror the nursery thus established for men reared up in irreconcilable aversion to our laws and constitution. When I was told by Lord North, that they were insensible to the value of those laws and held them in contempt, wishing to be bound by laws of their own making—when I was told that they had no regard for civil rights, I must confess that it operated with me in a contrary way, and I could not help thinking that it furnished an unanswerable argument against gratifying them. I think that we could not, with humanity or policy, gratify them in their love of French law, or French religion. The common safety is concerned in our refusal. If the Canadians love French law and French religion, and entertain opinions adverse to the peace and safety of the Mother Country, would it not be wise to recall them from their delusion, by putting them in immediate possession of civil rights; by which they would see all questions concerning their own property determined

on the fairest and most impartial manner, by laws which are the best guard of the weak and the strong, the inferior and the most powerful part of the community? Without they possess the highest sense of civil rights, they can never be good friends with us, or good subjects of the king. . . . All this is done, because it is right to indulge the natural predilections of the Canadians in favor of their ancient laws and usages! Let me, sir, in like manner, plead the law in favor of the English merchants—in favor of the English inhabitants. If it be cruel, if it be oppressive, to obtrude upon the Canadians this law, which they have been eleven years in the exercise of, what should be said of those who take away the law from the poor English subjects who reside there? These men have a predilection and liking for the laws of their own country, and claim their privilege of being protected, according to the usage and just principles of policy of their ancestors. They have settled there in consequence of the royal faith pledged to them, that they should not be deprived of the law which they esteem so valuable, and that none of their privileges should be infringed. Is it justice to these men to force them to live under an arbitrary form of government, and to submit to the administration of justice by the principles of another law, to the exclusion of juries, for the gratification of others, who prefer being placed under a despotic form of government? Is not the gratification due to the natives of England, rather than to the natives of Canada? There is, sir, a consideration which I will submit to the House. Every man born in Canada since the conquest must be a free-born subject. In process of time, all will be of that description, and as such, entitled to partake of all the rights and privileges of the system of government which we are about to transmit to them. Is it then, wise, I ask, out of the prejudices of those who have been born under the arbitrary law of another country, to perpetuate a system of government, which will deprive all those who may hereafter be born, from the enjoyment of the privileges of other British subjects?

Edmund Burke spoke thus: How many years elapsed, before you thought of making any constitution for Canada at all! And now, instead of making them free subjects of England, you sentence them to French government for ages. I meant only to add a few words upon the part of the Canadians, and leave them to their misery. They are condemned slaves by the British parliament. You only give them new masters. There is an end of Canada. Sir, having given up a hundred and fifty thousand of these people, having deprived them of the principles of our constitution, let us turn our attention to the three hundred and sixty English families. It is a small number; but I have heard, that the English are not to be judged of by number, but by weight;

and that one Englishman can beat two Frenchmen. Let us not value the prejudice. I do not know that one Englishman can beat two Frenchmen; but I know that, in this case, he ought to be more valuable than twenty Frenchmen, if you estimate him as a freeman and the Frenchmen as slaves. What can compensate an Englishman for the loss of his laws? Do you propose to take away liberty from the Englishman, because you will not give it to the French? I would give it to the Englishman, though ten thousand Frenchmen should take it against their will. Two-thirds of the whole trading interests of Canada are going to be deprived of their liberties, and handed over to French law and French judicature. Is that just to Englishmen? Surely, the English merchants want the protection of our law more than the noblesse! They have property always at sea; which, if it is not protected by law, every one may catch who can. No English merchant thinks himself armed to protect his property, if he is not armed with English law. I claim protection for the three hundred and sixty English families, whom I do know, against the prejudices of the noblesse of Canada, whom I do not know. I must put the House in mind of what an honorable gentleman said in the course of this debate—that it was seldom that any improvement was introduced in any country, which did not, at first, militate against the prejudices of the people. Was all England pleased with the revolution? No, the wisnes of the majority were sacrificed to the reason of the better part, and the interest of the whole; and we are now enjoying the benefits of that choice—benefits brought upon the ignorant people, not by force, but with an easy hand. The Canadians are now struggling with their old prejudices in favor of their former laws. A new establishment is proposed to them; which throws them into some disorder, some confusion—"All the interim is like a phantasma and a hideous dream." The honorable gentlemen opposite, taking advantage of this confusion, say: We have got a basis; let us see how much French law we can introduce! With a French basis, there is not one good thing that you can introduce. With an English basis, there is not one bad thing that you can introduce. . . . With regard to state policy, which is the last point I shall touch upon—the preservation of their old prejudices, their old laws, their old customs, by the bill, turns the balance in favor of France. The only difference is, they will have George the Third for Lewis the Sixteenth. In order to make Canada a secure possession of the British Government, you have only to bind the people to you, by giving them your laws. Give them English liberty—give them an English constitution—and then whether they speak French or English, whether they go to mass or attend our own communion, you will render them valuable and useful subjects of Great Britain. If you refuse to do this, the con-

sequence will be most injurious: Canada will become a dangerous instrument in the hands of those who wish to destroy English liberty in every part of our possessions.

No. 4.

Page 89.—“What Bishop Laval sought, but could not get from Louis XIV.” Abbe Gosselin, in his “Mgr. de Saint Vallier et son Temps,” quotes a letter of the Bishop, written in 1721 to the home authorities complaining of the Governor visiting the convents and taking with him all sorts of persons, without applying to the Bishop for permission. He reminded the minister that the Council of Trent punished such conduct with the greater excommunication. M. de Vaudreuil was, in this respect, said the Bishop, an exception, not only among governors, but among those whom governors represented. He had been chaplain to the late King (Louis XIV.) for twelve years, and during all that time His Majesty had used the utmost delicacy and prudence in this matter. Yet M. de Vaudreuil enters the convents on all occasions, sometimes with women, sometimes with men (officers, etc.), making himself at home not in the parlors only, but in the interior apartments. During the winter of 1721, he had, in Montreal, taken his place in one of the convent choirs during mass. He hoped the council would give M. de Vaudreuil to understand that it was his part to govern temporal concerns, and to leave to the Bishop the supervision of religious communities. His first thought had been to lay the matter before the Governor through Madame de Vaudreuil, but seeing that lady assume the airs of a grand dame who is all powerful at court, he did not dare approach her, and he concluded that the council was the best channel by which these reflections should reach His Excellency.

The Abbe's comments on this letter confirm the text, for he contrasts the position of the Bishops during the French regime with that of the Bishop under British rule. He writes: “What a contrast to the edifying regularity of our present communities! Those abuses were so deeply rooted that ten years later, Mgr. St. Vallier's successor, Mgr. Dosquet, had also to complain of them. Writing to the court of his relations with the Governor and intendant, Messrs. Beauharnois and Hocquart, he said that during his first year in Canada he had explained to them the Church's law on the subject. In reply, they objected that free visits had been the usage of the country. Mgr. Dosquet blamed his predecessor for permitting or refusing admission according as his relations were cordial or otherwise, with the temporal powers. A constant rule was the only safe course. For his part, he could not allow the acceptance by nuns of invitations to dinners or

suppers at the Castle, or the Intendance, such as had taken place formerly, to the great scandal of the public.

No. 5.

Page 171.—Sir A. T. Gault's pamphlet. The declarations he refers to are two decisions given by Judge Routhier in cases of actions for libel based on sermons preached by parish cures, in which he laid down the rule that for what was said by a priest in discharge of his ecclesiastical functions he could not be called to account before a secular court. The first judgment was upheld by the court of appeal. The second was quashed in review. The following sentences sufficiently indicate Judge Routhier's reading of the law:

Ecclesiastics cannot be prosecuted before secular tribunals for ecclesiastical matters. A layman who asserts he has been defamed by a cure in a sermon delivered from the pulpit, cannot sue for damages in civil tribunals for defamation, preaching being a matter essentially ecclesiastical. . . . At the first glance thrown upon this case, I asked myself if I was a judge competent to decide it, if it pertained to me, a layman, to censure a priest. . . . The priest in the pulpit, speaking in the name of God, in virtue of his divine mission completely eludes my jurisdiction, and I have no quality (claim) to decide whether he abuses his sacred ministry or not.

No. 6.

Page 177.—“The assumptions of the laity were not to be compared with those of the clergy.”

There appeared in a Three Rivers paper in 1870 a programme for the direction of electors at the approaching Dominion elections. It was endorsed by the Bishops of Montreal and Three Rivers in pastoral letters. Here are three quotations from the programme:

“It is impossible to deny that politics are closely bound up with religion, and that the separation of the Church and the State is an absurd and impious doctrine. This is particularly true of the constitutional rule, which, attributing to parliament all power of legislation, places in the hands of those who compose it a double-edged weapon which might become terrible.

“It is for this it becomes necessary: that those who exercise this legislative authority should be in perfect harmony with the teachings of the church. It is for this it is the duty of Catholic electors to choose for their representatives men whose principles are perfectly sound and sure.

“The full and entire adhesion to Roman Catholic doctrines, in religious politics and social economy, should be

the first and principal qualification that Catholic electors should exact from the Catholic candidate. It is the safest criterion of which they can avail themselves to judge of men and things."

"We belong in principle to the Conservative party; that is to say, to that which constitutes itself the defender of social authority. It is sufficient to say, that by the Conservative party, we do not mean every set of men who have no other tie than that of personal interest and ambition; but a group of men sincerely professing the same principles of religion and nationality, preserving in their integrity the traditions of the old Conservative party, which may be summed up in an inviolable attachment to Catholic doctrines, and an absolute devotion to the national interests of Lower Canada.

"It is the duty of the electors not to give their suffrages but to those who will entirely conform to the instructions of the church in these matters."

Bishop of Birtha, assisting in the Montreal diocese, in a sermon on the Sunday before the election of June, 1875, said:

"The Liberal Catholic professes to believe in the truths of the faith, but he rejects the interference of the church in secular affairs. He does not want the priest to meddle in politics. He, therefore, excludes God from men in human affairs. This is an error condemned by popes and councils. . . . The priest should be your adviser in political affairs."

Pastoral letter of 22nd September, 1875, from the united bishops:

"The church is a perfect society, distinct and independent from civil society, and she has necessarily received from her founder authority over her children to maintain order and unity. . . . Not only is the church independent of civil society, she is superior . . . the State is therefore in the Church, and not the Church in the State."

In a pastoral letter, dated February 6, 1876, the Bishop of Montreal warned his people against Liberalism. The precautions to avoid being led astray by Liberalism are summed up in this rule, which every one is advised to repeat in his heart:

"I hear my cure, my cure hears the bishop, the bishop hears the Pope, and the Pope hears Jesus Christ, who assists him with his divine spirit in rendering him infallible in the teaching and government of His church. By keeping this rule in mind, and respecting the priest as they would their Saviour, good Catholics need not fear to go astray."

In a mandement issued March 21, 1877, the Bishop of Rimouski condemned the judgment of the court in setting aside an election in Bonaventure on account of priestly influence. The Bishop said:

"To pretend that electors should be free from all law

except civil law, is to will that, during elections, the law of God and that of the church should be suspended. . . . A third error, no less pernicious, is that civil courts are charged with correcting the abuses, which may slip into preaching or refusing the sacraments. . . . The church alone has the right to impose limits which shall not be exceeded by the preacher in the unfolding of the doctrine. The influence of the priest over his flock comes from his sacerdotal character, his divine mission. . . . How does one dare to call the threatening of the refusal of the sacraments to those who do not submit themselves to the direction of their pastors, a fraudulent proceeding?"

On Tuesday, October 29, 1876, the Jubilee of Bishop Bourget as a priest was celebrated in Notre Dame Church, Montreal. Father Braun was the preacher. His sermon was printed by authority. Following are extracts from it:

"The church, in the eyes of modern governments, is no more considered as a society completely independent of the State, having itself the rights confided to it by its Divine Founder; right of self-government; right of possessing and of administering property; right of making laws binding upon the conscience, and to which the State should submit; right of being the only power that can define the invalidating impediments to marriage, that can determine the form of marriage, that can judge matrimonial cases to pronounce upon the validity of the conjugal tie; right of erecting parishes independently of the State; right of superintending and directing education in public schools. People do not consider any more than the heads of nations and their legislators that they owe submission, respect and obedience to the church just as much as the humblest citizen, and that the more elevated they are in the eyes of men, the more formidable account they will have to render to God for their want of respect and submission to the laws of holy church.

"In future every upright and logical man, enlightened by the zeal of the bishop and his clergy, will say: Yes, we most heartily adhere to the constitutions of the church. Yes, they bind in conscience independently of the sanction of the State. Therefore the Church is an independent society. Every one admits this principle. The state is subordinate to the Church. This truth is admitted. No one now dares to deny these two Catholic dogmas. But many, for a logical turn of mind, do not see the consequences which flow from these principles, and dare to doubt them. But the day we trust is near at hand when governments, repudiating their errors, will at length recognize the truths proclaimed by the First Council of Quebec. The law of the Church itself enacts the ecclesiastical laws, without any recourse to the State, and it is the duty of the State to recognize these laws and submit to them. The Church can, inasmuch as it thinks proper,

require from the State a civil sanction for the laws. This sanction adds no new obligation to the law, but helps the execution thereof. In this case it is not a bill, a draft of a law, which the Church proposes to the examination and discussion of a parliament, it is a law already made, and which the Church alone has a right to make, a law which is already binding on the conscience, independently of the sanction of the State, and for which the Church claims a purely civil action and sanction. The State does not enact the law nor does it discuss the same; this is beyond its jurisdiction. It simply sanctions it civilly, just as the Church proposes it, without having the right to change, omit or add anything.

"As the Church enacts its own laws, so does it also judge ecclesiastical matters independently of the State's courts, to cause the Church's decisions to be respected. The Church decides in matrimonial cases, prescribes the forms of marriages, and the State is honored by causing the decisions of the Church to be observed. The Church has the possession and administration of temporalities, independently of the State; and the State protects the Church in its possessions and administrations. The Church enjoys its immunities, and the State protects it against the sacrilegious man who would wish to violate them. The Church erects dioceses and parishes, and the State helps the Church in all its works. The Church watches over and directs the schools, and it approves the teachers that parents choose, and the State hastens freely to grant its protection and assistance. A Christian government is far from imitating those Liberal governments who arrogate to themselves all right and power in schools, which everywhere become schoolmasters, and which have perverted the education of youth. Such is the union of Church and State and our venerable pontiff has devoted his life to the strengthening of this union. All these truths are the corollaries of the Church's independence, proclaimed by the council of Quebec."

Father Braun summed up the principles he had laid down thus:

The supremacy and infallibility of the Pope;

The independence and liberty of the Church;

The subordination and submission of the Church to the State; in case of conflict between them, the Church to decide, the State to submit.

For whoever follows and defends these principles, life and a blessing; for whoever rejects and combats them, death and a curse.

No. 7.

Page 185.—Text of Judge McCord's decision.
McCord (J.S.), J. The declaration states that the plaint-

iff, Refour, is a priest and cure of the Catholic mission of Ste. Cecile in the township of Milton. Defendant is proprietor of lot No. 14 in the 8th range of Milton, and a Roman Catholic parishioner, living on the lands of the said mission, to whose cure he is duly assigned, and is bound to pay 10s. for tithes of grain on said lot. Defendant pleads:

1. That the priest has no right to tithes.
2. That the mission being within the township of Milton, where the tenure is in free and common soccage, and subject to the laws of England, which do not require the payment of tithes within this Province.
3. That the mission has not been either civilly or canonically erected into a parish or cure.

It is well known that both in England and in France at the earliest periods when tithes were mentioned they were voluntary contributions, and only became eligible when sanctioned by authority of law, which was so in France by Charlemagne, A.D., in England partially in 786-7, and generally in 930. Burns' Eccl. Law V. Tithes, vol. 3 p. 387. There can, therefore, be no right of tithe without sanction of law. In this province it formed part of the law of the country, introduced by the kings of France, under whose dominion that part of the country known as seigniorial Canada was subject, and where it was found in force at the conquest of the country in 1760. Edit, du mois de Mai, 1669,

By the unpenal statute 14 Geo. III, c. 83, sect. 5, it is enacted that the inhabitants of Quebec, professing the religion of the Church of Rome may have, hold, and enjoy the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome . . . and that the clergy of the said Church may hold, receive, and enjoy their accustomed dues and rights with respect to such persons only as shall profess the said religion." Had this clause remained alone in the statute it might perhaps be argued that the permission should extend to the entire province of Quebec, but by the 9th section all doubt is removed by the following proviso. "That nothing in this act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any lands that have been granted by his Majesty, or shall hereafter be granted by his Majesty, his heirs or successors, to be holden in free or common soccage." The next and only other statute on the subject is 31 Geo. III, c. 31, sec. 35, which confirms and contains the above provision, with a further restriction, that where a Protestant shall possess land, which in the hands of a Roman Catholic would have been liable to tithes, such land shall cease to be so subject to that right.

Such, then, is the present state of the law of the country, and there being a positive prohibition to the extension of the rights of tithes to lands held in free and common soccage, I am bound to maintain the second plea pleaded.

No. 8.

Page 186.—The Rectories Act, Vic. 44-45. The preamble reads:

Whereas the recognition of legal equality among all religious denominations is an admitted principle of colonial legislation; and whereas in the state and condition of this province, to which such a principle is peculiarly applicable, it is desirable that the same should receive the sanction of direct legislative authority, recognizing and declaring the same as a fundamental principle of our civil polity . . . it is hereby declared and enacted, that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, so as the same be not made an excuse for acts of licentiousness or justification of practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the province, is, by the constitution and laws of this province allowed to all Her Majesty's subjects within the same.

No. 9.

Page 246.—“They pity as one lost.” The uniform teaching of the priests is, that Protestants who persist in rejecting the Church of Rome are doomed to hell. One of the most liberal of the bishops presides over the diocese of Valleyfield. In a pastoral letter, 9th February, 1898, occur these passages:

The Church is a perfect society, provided with a constitution wanting in nothing for its regular and constant working, and which by divine right is and always will be entirely independent of worldly power. It is complete in itself, comprising two distinct classes of members, the one charged with teaching, ruling, and sanctifying in their capacity as Ministers of Christ and dispensers of the mysteries of God (Cor. iv. 1), the other receiving all the benefits of this triple ministry established in their favor, and to which they should submit. It is a society made necessary by the divine covenant which makes it an indispensable means of salvation and imposes on all men the strict obligation of being faithful members of it, if they wish to enjoy the benefits of redemption. No one can expect to attain to eternal happiness hereafter if he does not belong to the Church of Christ. It is not for us, by any means, to apply to any persons God's judgments—God knows those who belong to him—but in all cases without exception grace comes to man as the fruit of the merits of Jesus Christ, whose Church is its sole dispenser, whence follows the indispensable obligation of belonging not only to the soul of the Church by interior justice, but to its body also by exterior

adherence, from the moment that it comes to the knowledge of men; all those who save themselves are saved by the Church, and out of the Church there is no salvation.

Bishop Cleary, of Kingston, in October, 1897, issued a command to his people to avoid Protestant services of any kind. Vicar-General Racicot, speaking for the Archbishop of Montreal, stated there was nothing new in the rules laid down by Bishop Cleary, for, from all time, the Catholic Church has always shown the greatest severity on this subject. All the Councils held by the various bishops of Quebec, and notably the Sixth Council of Quebec, have been very explicit on this point and their decisions should not leave any doubt in the soul of a true Catholic respecting the injunction made to Catholics not to take part, even as spectators, in the diverse religious ceremonies in Protestant churches. Let us cite the paragraph which deals with this question:

"Domino prohibentur catholici assistere baptismo, matrimonio, coenae, caeterisque ritibus, ant concionibus herelitis. . . . Quando acatholicorum exquicis assistut tembla non ingrediantur ne ritibus religiosis adsuit sive domi, sine in coemeteris."

"That is to say: It is absolutely prohibited, and this implies pain of mortal sin, to Catholics to assist at the baptism, at the marriage, at the offices or other religious rites or at the sermons in heretic or Protestant churches. If they so assist, they cannot take part either in the church or in the cemetery."

Thus, then, it is perfectly clear that any Catholic who assisted at a religious ceremony of any kind in a Protestant temple commits a mortal sin.

Archbishop Fabre issued a mandement to the faithful in the diocese in Montreal on April 9th, 1882. In it he refers to the same matter in these words:

"It is forbidden to Catholics to be present at the baptisms, the marriages, the communion, as well as at the ceremonies and the proceedings of Protestants. For Catholics, this would be to take part with Protestants in sacred things, which is positively forbidden by the Church. If by necessity or custom Catholics feel themselves obliged to follow the funeral corteges of Protestants, they must not enter into their churches, houses or cemeteries to participate in the rites and ceremonies which are there performed. It is necessary not to invite Protestant to attend the funerals of Catholics as pall-bearers. It is necessary to say that under this report there is more freedom here than in the other Provinces, where the Catholics guard themselves well against being present at Protestant ceremonies."

Subsequent to the occupation of Rome by Victor Emanuel, the Pope wrote a letter, dated June 26, 1878, complaining of

the acts of Protestants in the city of Rome. In the course of it Leo XIII. said:

"Protestant chapels, raised by the gold of Bible societies, spring up as if to insult us; here schools, asylums and refuges stand open to inconsiderate youth, apparently with the philanthropic purpose of caring for their mental culture and material wants, but with the real object of bringing up a generation hostile to the Church of Christ. As if all this were not enough those who by the duty of their office ought to have promoted the true interests of the citizens of Rome, have lately decreed the banishment of the Catholic catechism from the municipal schools."

As indicating the official attitude towards all outside the Church of Rome the following articles of the Syllabus are quoted from the affirmative version:

Article XIII.—If anyone says that Protestantism is nothing else than a diverse form of the same true Christian religion, a form in which we can please God as well as in the Catholic Church, let him be accursed.

Article XXIV.—If anyone says that the Church has not the right to use force (or compulsion); that she has no temporal power, direct or indirect, let him be accursed.

Article XXXVII.—If anyone says that one may establish (or institute) national churches not submitted to the authority of the Roman Pontiff, and entirely separated from him, let him be accursed.

Article LIII.—If anyone says. . . . The civil power is authorized to lend its support (or protection) to all those who would like to renounce the religious state or monastic life, and abandon their solemn vows (of celibacy, etc.), let him be accursed.

Article LV.—If anyone says that the Church must be separated from the State, and State be separated from the Church, let him be accursed.

Article LXXIII.—If anyone says that in virtue of a purely civil contract there can exist a true marriage between Christians, let him be accursed.

Article LXXXVII.—If anyone says that it is no longer becoming, in our times, that the Catholic religion be considered as the only religion of the State, to the exclusion of all the other kinds of worship, let him be accursed.

Article LXXVIII.—If anyone says: One can but praise certain Catholic countries where the law has made provision to the effect that the strangers who go there may enjoy the public exercise of their respective religions, let him be accursed.

Article LXXX.—If any one says that the Roman Pontiff can and must reconcile himself and put himself in harmony with the modern progress, liberalism and civilization, let him be accursed.

By the Quebec ecclesiastical authorities the question was put to the Holy Office at Rome: "Are Catholics permitted to attend religious ceremonies other than those of the Catholic Church?" The Holy Office, with the approbation of the Sovereign Pontiff, replied in the negative.

No. 10.

Page 277.—The Supremacy Act is England's declaration of independence. It was passed in 1558, the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign. The enacting clause is:

"That no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall, at any time, use, enjoy, or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this realm, or within any other of her Majesty's dominions or countries, that now are or hereafter shall be, but from thenceforth the same shall be clearly abolished out of this realm and all other of your Highness' dominions forever."

The act is embodied in the consolidated statutes of Canada. The concessions in the Quebec Act to the priesthood are made subject to it (see page 79). When the Union Act of 1841 was in preparation, the Imperial Government submitted to the legal advisers of the Crown the question as to how far the Act of Supremacy applied to Quebec, who returned the following:

Asked to report to Lord Stanley, "adverting to the Act of Supremacy, relating to the exercise within the Queen's dominions of the religion of the Church of Rome, and adverting to the terms of capitulation of Quebec and Montreal in 1759 and 1760, and to the statute, 14 Geo. III., c. 83; to the 31 Geo. III., c. 31; and to the 3rd and 4th Victoria, c. 35 (1840-41), whether any authority is vested in the Queen to regulate, or in any manner to interfere with, the appointment of R. C. bishops or archbishops in Canada, or to determine what the number or what the character of the ecclesiastical functionaries of the R. C. Church in that province shall be.

"In obedience to his Lordship's commands we have considered the subject referred to us, with great care, and beg leave to report that we think, under the terms of the Treaty of Paris, and the 14 Geo. III., c. 53, s. 5, and with reference to the provisions of the statute of 1 Eliz., her Majesty has an authority vested in her to interfere with and make regulations respecting the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops and archbishops in Canada."

The opinion was signed by Sir Frederick Pollock and Sir Wm. Webb Follett. The talk at the recent Eucharistic Congress, at Montreal, regarding the sovereignty of the Pope was treasonable.

RULES IN FORCE IN DIOCESE OF MONTREAL.

(1) There is only one God and one truth; there is, then, but one true religion and one true form of worship; the religion that is taught and prescribed by the Church established by God. It is false to say that all religions are equal or even that all Christian denominations are good.

(2) It is absolutely forbidden to Catholics to attend or take part in any non-Catholic religious exercises whether within or outside of regular places of worship. Even the presence of Catholics at non-Catholic services in connection with funerals is not permitted or tolerated by the Church except for reasons of State or public order.

(3) Catholics are absolutely prohibited from loaning or renting their houses or other buildings for the religious services of a non-Catholic creed. To do so would be, in effect, co-operation or actual participation in such services.

No. 11.

Page 149.—Lord Dalhousie's plan to curb the power of the priests.

"Memo to Lord Bathurst, July, 1824.—The first reform in importance is the state of the Roman Catholic Church with respect to the prerogative of the King, as the head of that as of all other lawful Churches in his dominions. Since the conquest of Canada a loose rein has been given to the Roman Catholic bishop in the disposal of the patronage of his Church, and that most powerful branch of the influence of the Crown is now entirely in his hands. The late appointments of vicars-general, who take the title of bishop, has created a serious difference of opinion among the Roman Catholic clergy in the Province, but more particularly in the district of Montreal, upon which it is in the highest degree important to pronounce."

Lord Bathurst's reply indicated he had misapprehended what was stated, so, December 19, 1824, Lord Dalhousie writes again on the subject: "I regret your Lordship has misunderstood my sentiments in regard to the power and influence assumed by the Roman Catholic clergy in Lower Canada. My whole correspondence on that subject has been endeavoring to show that it only requires an order from His Majesty's Government to re-establish the authority of the Crown over the clergy of that persuasion, and by it to put an end to division among them, which has already been attended with very unpleasant circumstances. So far from thinking that the authority has slipped from us, I have entreated your Lordship to resume those powers, which are the prerogative of the Crown by the laws of France. By them the King and the Gallican Church is governed, and the King of France did

exercise them most peremptorily up to the day when Canada was surrendered to the British arms. The present Catholic bishop is trying to gain an independent influence, but it is by no means too late to resume the reins, and a most respectable class of that clergy is most anxious that her Majesty's Government do so."

No. 12.

Page 147.—"Many members ready to vote to let Quebec go her own way," but the Imperial Government could not concede what Papineau asked. Lord Russell's despatch of October 14, 1839, touches on this point:

During the time when a large majority of the Assembly of Quebec followed Papineau, it was obviously the aim of that gentleman to discourage all who did their duty to the Crown and to deter all those who should resort to Canada with British habits and feelings from without. I need not say that it would have been impossible for any minister to support in the Parliament of the United Kingdom the measure which a ministry, headed by Mr. Papineau, would have imposed upon the Governor of Quebec. British officers punished for doing their duty, British emigrants defrauded of their property, British merchants discouraged in their lawful pursuits, would have loudly appealed to Parliament against such a Canadian ministry, and would have demanded protection.

No. 13.

Page 211.—Legislature compels companies to use French. When Lavergne's bill was before committee, May 31, 1910, the lawyer who represented the express companies made this plea:

W. J. White opposed the bill, saying that not only the railway companies, but all the public utilities companies were against it. He had never heard of any individual complaint of ill-treatment or inconvenience under the present system from either English-speaking or French-speaking people. It was in the interests of the companies to treat the public right in order to get all the business possible, and whenever French forms were needed for the convenience of the public they were furnished by all companies. As for Mr. Lavergne's plea for equality of the languages, this could be met by making the bill read English "or" French, and allowing the companies to print separate documents for the use of the different patrons. If the documents, such as contracts, were printed in both languages, a man might sign one and later declare that he had not noticed the side printed in his own language, and therefore had not understood it.

If bills of lading were printed in both languages, Mr.

White continued, and were sent to a United States bank, the American officials would not understand the French, and would have no guarantee that the French portion was the same as the English. They would, therefore, be suspicious of the document and a lot of trouble would result for all parties concerned. On the score of practicability Mr. White also declared Mr. Lavergne's proposal was impossible. Bills of lading were to be a certain size by law, and in order to get the conditions on the bill, both in English and in French, they would have to be printed in type only half the size of that used at present, which would mean that they would be practically illegible.

A. Wainwright and Percy Smith for the Richelieu & Ontario Navigation Company opposed the bill on the ground that it would cause the company great inconvenience and expense. The company was in the unique position of doing business in one part of the country exclusively in English and in another part exclusively in French. They had a number of forms of contract which were used in their French business. They found their system worked satisfactorily, and they had never received any complaints. The printing expenses of the company were enormous. At present they could print the number required of each form in each language, but if every form had to be printed in both it would add a great deal to this expense and would be a hardship for the company. They now printed all notice and time tables in both languages and they considered that they were treating the public fairly.

Dr. Lanctot, a member of the legislature, warned his fellows that the measure would be a provocation to the English companies, who were the life of the country, to retaliate against the French-Canadians, while it would provoke a wave of feeling against the French-speaking population all over the Dominion, and that, in a word, it would lead to what the Americans called "retaliation." "We will see in ten years what the effect of this bill will be."

No. 14.

Page 259.—Of the extent of these orders figures may be quoted of a few:

The Congregation de Notre Dame has 1,415 nuns, 141 novices, 49 postulants, and 31,740 pupils, with 129 convents.

Sisters of Charity—1,900 nuns and 84 convents.

Sisters of Jesus and Mary—1,127 nuns, 129 novices, 71 postulants, 73 convents.

Grey Nuns—707 nuns, 119 novices, 54 convents.

Sisters of the Cross—500 nuns, 62 novices, 40 postulants, 38 convents.

MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS.

Men—

Capucins, Carmens Chaussees, Chanoines Reguliers de l'Immaculee Conception, Clercs Paroissiaux de Saint-Viateur, Congregation de Jesus et de Marie, Congregation des Peres due Saint-Esprit, Congregation des peres du Tres Saint-Sacrament, Dominicains, Enfants de Marie Immaculee, Freres de la Croix de Jesus, Freres de Marie, Freres de Notre Dame des Champs, Freres de Saint-Francois-Regis, Freres des Ecoles Chretiennes, Freres Maristes des Ecoles, Freres Mineurs (Franciscains), Instruction Chretienne, Jesuites, Marie (Compagnie de), Missionnaires de la Salette, Missionnaires due Sacre-Coeur, Oblats de Marie-Immaculee, Peres Blancs, Peres de la Resurrection de N.-S.-J.-C., Sacre-Coeur, Saint-Basile, Saint-Benoit, Sainte-Croix, Saint-Gabriel, Saint-Sulpice, Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, Tres-Saint-Redempteur, Trappists.

Women—

Assomption de la Sainte-Vierge, Augustines (Hotel-Dieu de Quebec), Benedictines, Bon-Pasteur, Carmelites, Chanoinesses des Cinq Plaies de N.-S., Charite de la Providence, Cisterciennes ou Trappistines, Clarisses, Coeur Immacule de Marie, Congregation de Notre-Dame, Congregation de Notre-Dame due Saint-Rosaire, Dominicaines servantes de l'Enfant Jesus, Ecoles de Notre-Dame, Fideles Compagnes de Jesus, Filles de Jesus, Filles de la Providence de Saint-Brieuc, Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie, Hoptal General de Montreal, Hospitalieres de la Misericorde de Jesus, Hospitalieres de Saint-Joseph, Institut de la Bienheureuse Vierge Marie, Institut des Petites Soeurs Franciscaines de Marie, Institut des Soeurs de N.-D. du Perpetuel Secours, Jesus-Marie (Religieuse de), Les Servantes de Jesus-Marie, Misericorde, Notre-Dame de Charite du Refuge, Oblates du Sacre-Coeur, etc., Petites Filles de Saint-Joseph, Petites Servantes de Marie, Petites Soeurs de la Sainte Famille, Petites Soeurs des Pauvres, Precieux Sang, Presentation de la Bienheureuse Vierge Marie, Religieuses de N.-D. des Missions, Religieuses de Saint-Francois d'Assise, Religieuses Redemptoristines, Sacre-Coeur de Jesus (Societe du), Sainte-Anne (Soeurs de), Saints Noms de Jesus et de Marie, Servantes du Tres Saint-Sacrament, Soeurs de la charite (Srs Grises), Soeurs de la Charite (Saint-Jean, N. B.), Soeurs de la Charite de Saint-Louis, Soeurs de la Croix de Murinais, Soeurs de la Sagesse, Soeurs de l'Esperance, Soeurs de l'Immaculee Conception, Soeurs de Notre-Dame du Bon Conseil, Soeurs de Saint-Antoine de padoue, Soeurs de Sainte-Croix et des Sept-Douleurs, Soeurs de Saint-Joseph Soeurs de Saint-Joseph de Saint-Vallier, Soeurs de Sainte Marie, Soeurs de Sainte-

Marthe, Soeurs des SS. CC. de Jesus et de Marie, Soeurs du Soeur Immacule de Marie, Soeurs Filles de la Croix de Saint Andre, Soeurs Servantes du Saint-Soeur de Marie, Ursulines.

SUBSIDIES.

The following table of yearly grants is taken from the Public Accounts of Quebec for 1909:

Laval University	\$26,000 00
Commercial College	30,000 00
Polytechnic College	20,000 00
Normal Schools	71,000 00
Deaf and Dumb School	4,000 00
Care of Insane	330,000 00
St. Ferdinand	17,000 00
Hospice St. Anne	10,750 00
Reformatory Schools	59,000 00
Convent, Ste. Genevieve	250 00
Convent, Grand River	100 00
Convent, Malbaie	100 00
Convent, Ste. Adelaide	150 00
Convent, Beaucourt	333 00
Convent, Beauce	500 00
Mass for late M. Broet	150 00
Trappists, Agriculture	7,837 00
Ste. Anne, Agriculture	3,331 00
St. Pascal, Agriculture	1,378 00
Roberval, Agriculture	1,300 00
St. Damien, Agriculture	1,500 00
797 model schools and academies, nearly all convents, with 3,015 nuns and 1,126 monks as teachers	44,443 00
Elementary schools, with 518 nuns and 97 monks, as teachers, estimated	150,000 00
Indigent Sick, Montreal	2,240 00
St. Patrick's Hospital, Montreal	1,120 00
Soeurs de la Providence, Montreal	588 00
St. Vincent de Paul Asylum, Montreal	315 00
St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum, Montreal	336 00
Magdalen Asylum (Bon Pasteur), Montreal	378 00
Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum, Montreal	168 00
Soeurs de la Charite, Montreal	660 00
Lying-in Hospital, care Soeurs de la Misericorde, Montreal	383 25
Bonaventure Street Asylum, Montreal	225 75
Nazareth Asylum for Destitute Children, Montreal	210 00
School for the Blind, Nazareth Asylum, Montreal	1,590 00
Workroom for the Blind, Nazareth Asylum, Montreal	300 00

St. Bridget's Asylum, Montreal	420 00
Hospice de Bethleem, Montreal	262 50
Notre-Dame Hospital, Montreal	5,000 00
Hotel-Dieu, Montreal	1,050 00
Souers de la Misericorde, Montreal	750 00
Soeurs de la Providence, Montreal	150 00
Hospice de St. Joseph du Bon-Pasteur, Montreal..	105 00
Petites Soeurs des Pauvres, Montreal	70 00
Hopital des Incurables, Montreal	500 00
Charitable Ladies' Association of the Roman Catho- lic Orphan Asylum and Nazareth Asylum, Quebec	798 00
Indigent Sick, Quebec	2,240 00
Asylum of the Good Shepherd, Quebec	750 00
Saint Bridget's Asylum, Quebec	525 00
Sisters of Charity, Quebec	385 00
Sisters of Charity, Quebec	510 00
Hotel Dieu, Quebec	1,477 00
Ladies' of Good Shepherd, Quebec	1,500 00
L'Oeuvre du Patronage, Quebec	375 00
L'Oeuvre de la Creche, Quebec	200 00
Sisters of Charity, Three Rivers	1,880 00
Sorel Hospital	490 00
St. Hyacinthe Hospital	350 00
Hotel Dieu, Nicolet	200 00
Sisters of Charity, Rimouski	262 00
Hopital du Sacre Coeur, Sherbrooke	300 00
Hospice, Levis	210 00
Hotel Dieu, Levis	200 00
Hotel Dieu St. Vallier, Chicoutimi	300 00
Hotel Dieu de St. Joseph, Arthabaska	187 50
Hospice Ste. Anne de la Baie St. Paul	375 00
Hospice des Soeurs de la Charite, Montmagny ..	200 00
Fraserville Hospital, Fraserville	400 00
Hospital, Valleyfield	300 00
Hospice St. Andre Avellin, county of Ottawa	200 00
Hospice St. Jerome, St. Jerome	250 00
Hospice St. Antoine, Longueuil	300 00
Hopital St. Jean, St. John's, Iberville	140 00
Sisters of Charity, St. John's Iberville	140 00
Brehmer Rest, Ste. Agathe des Monts	200 00
Jardin de l'Enfance St. Joseph, Joliette	300 00
Catholic Sailors Club, Montreal	100 00
L'Union Nationale Francaise, Montreal	200 00
L'Oeuvre de la Creche du Bon Pasteur, Quebec	200 00
L'Ouvroir des Soeurs de la Charite, Quebec	200 00
Hospice des Petites Soeurs de Nominigues	100 00
Hopital, Guay, Levis	100 00
Hospice St. Joseph de la Delivrance, Levis	200 00
L'Hospice Ste. Elizabeth de Farnham, Missisquoi Co.	200 00

L'Hospice Drapeau, Terrebonne Co.	100 00
Soeurs de la Charite de l'Hospice Ste. Croix, Marie-ville	100 00
La Creche de Sherbrooke, Sherbrooke	50 00
l'Hospice des Viellards, Sherbrooke	100 00
Hopital General de Maniwaki, Maniwaki	100 00
Hopital de Magog, Stanstead Co.	200 00

Without access to the books in the departments an inclusive statement cannot be prepared. It is a fair estimate that one-sixth of the expenditure of the Province of Quebec goes through the hands of the priesthood and of members of monastic orders. Many of these orders, subsidized by government and exempted from municipal taxation, engage in trade. The Quebec Daily Telegraph, a Catholic paper, complained of this in these words:

"The evil is becoming too serious to be much longer overlooked or trifled with, and if the ecclesiastical or municipal authorities cannot see the necessity of restraining the encroachments of these institutions upon the civil domain, there is nothing clearer than that the taxpayers will have to take their own protection in hand. We do not deny the good that these communities do, but if it is to be done at the expense of ruining local trade and closing up the avenues of employment to hundreds of deserving mechanics and their families, then we think that the bulk of our population will agree that we are paying too dearly for our whistle, and that it is time to call a halt. People often wonder why the trade in certain lines, once so profitable and thriving here, is no longer so; why so many buildings, formerly used for its prosecution, are now tenantless, while their unfortunate owners have to keep on paying heavier and heavier taxes all the time for them, and why so many of our energetic young men and women are constantly leaving us for other fields of enterprise, while those who remain behind eke out a miserable hand-to-mouth existence upon the strength of poorly paid and precarious employment. The reason for all this is not far to seek. A great many of the handicrafts which formerly gave steady and remunerative occupation to a multitude of our people are now monopolized by religious brotherhoods and sisterhoods, who are literally taking the bread out of the mouths of the lay element by competing with it in its own special fields, and crowding it completely out, owing to the unfair conditions upon which this competition is tolerated and carried out. This encroachment on the civil domain is going on insidiously all the time, and unless an effectual stop is put to it without delay Quebec will be a good place before long to abandon altogether. In the light of this competition it is not difficult to understand what seems so mysterious to many, namely, how many of our religious establishments attain such enormous growth so

rapidly, and where the means comes from to erect the extensive and costly buildings that are being daily added to the already excessive amount of untaxed property in our midst. That a considerable portion of it is derived from bequests and donations from the charitably inclined, is, of course, beyond question, but this tendency to benefit these institutions also takes another form which is disastrous to local trade, and which they seem to be only too eager to take advantage of. We refer to the transfer to them of work which should be done outside, but which they can necessarily do cheaper owing to the privileges which they enjoy in exemption from taxation, from rent and in free labor. But we are often met with the objection that the volume of work which is diverted from the regular channels in this way is too insignificant to be mentioned. Those who talk in this manner are either apologists for the existing evil or they are utterly ignorant of the real state of affairs.

No. 15.

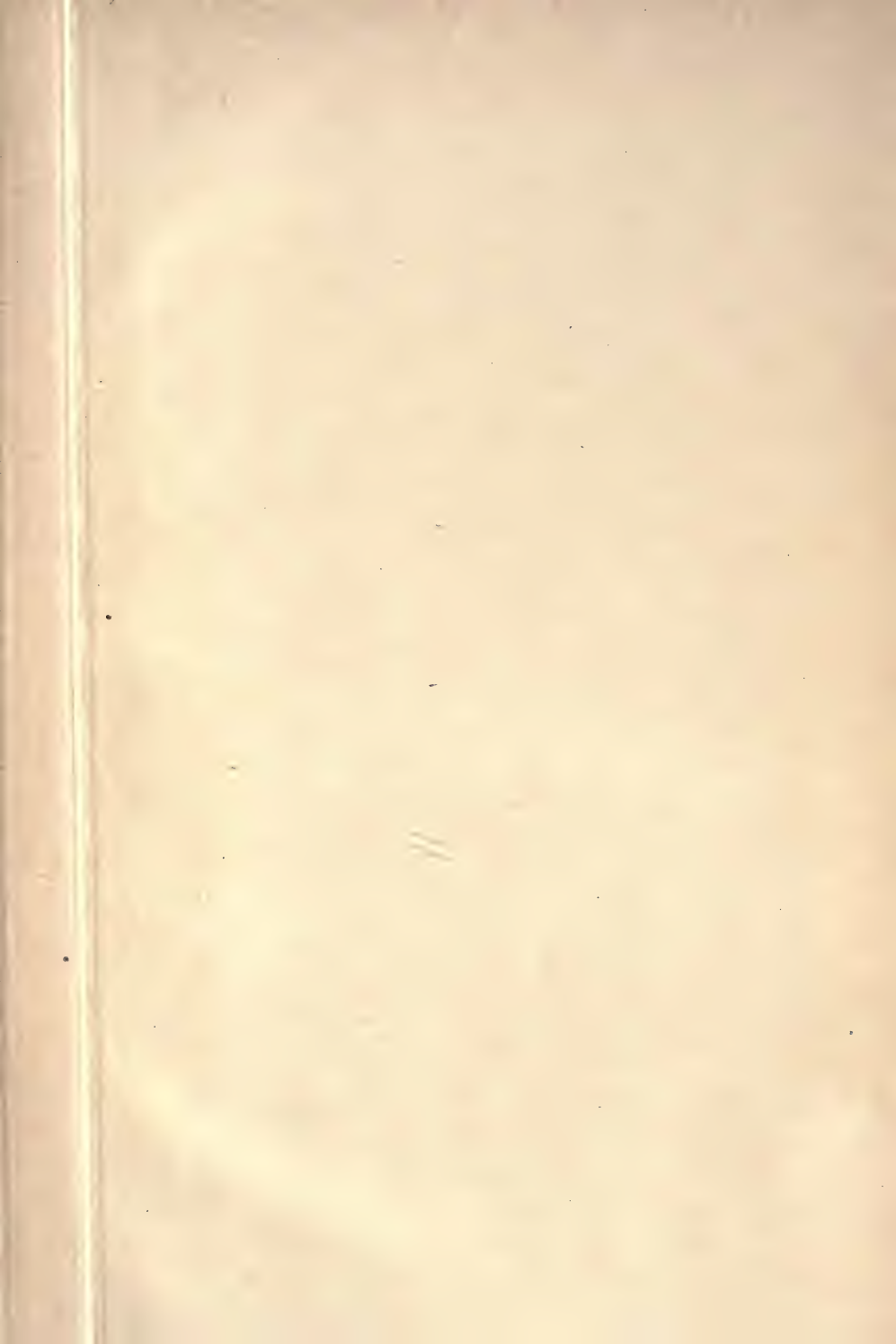
It is well to bear in mind that there have been Catholic bishops who did not desire separate schools. Bishop Doyle, in his "Letters on the State of Ireland," writes: "I do not know any measure which would prepare the way for a better feeling in Ireland than uniting children at an early age, and bringing them up in the same school, leading them to commune with one another and to form those little intimacies and friendships which often subsist through life. Children thus united know and love each other, as children brought up together always will, and to separate them is, I think, to destroy some of the finest feelings in the hearts of men. . . . I do not see how any man wishing well to the public peace and who looks to Ireland as his country can think that that peace can ever be permanently established, or the prosperity of the country secured, if children are separated at the beginning of life on account of their religious opinions." In the face of discouragement, for ten years Dr. Doyle kept alive, by speeches, letters and pastorals, this agitation for a common education.

No. 16.

It will sound strange to quote the present head of the Government of the Dominion in support of the views set forth in this book, yet it may be done. In a lecture, entitled, "Political Liberalism," delivered in the city of Quebec, June 26, 1877, Sir Wilfrid Laurier spoke as follows. Denouncing the clerical party, he said:

"They openly oppose the principles of the British constitution as being a concession to what they call the spirit of evil. They understand neither their country nor the age in which they live; all their ideas are derived from the reactionaries of France. . . . You wish to organize a Catholic party, but have you never reflected that, if unfortunately you were successful, you would bring on your country calamities the consequence of which it is impossible to predict? You wish to organize all Catholics into a single party without other tie, without other basis, than that of religion; but you have not reflected that by that fact alone you organize the Protestant population as a single party, and that then, instead of the peace and harmony which now exist amongst the elements of our Canadian population, you will bring on war, religious war, the most frightful of all wars. Once more I accuse you before Canada of knowing neither your country nor the age you live in. . . . Experience establishes that institutions, which in the beginning were useful because they were suited to the state of society in which they had been introduced, in the end, from the very fact that everything is changing around them, become intolerable abuses. Such amongst us was the seignorial tenure. It cannot be denied that in the youth of the colony this system greatly facilitated the settlement of the country. But in 1850 everything had so changed amongst us, that the system would have ended in producing deplorable difficulties, if our Legislature, at the suggestion of the Liberals, had not, in its wisdom, abolished it. As a result of the law which I have pointed out as the determining cause of Liberal and Conservative ideas, there will always be found men who will fondly attach themselves to abuses, and look with fear on any attempt to abolish them. Woe be to them if, while in the possession of power, they be not ready to sacrifice their favorite notions! Woe be to them if they know not how to concede and adopt proposed reforms! They shall bring on their country disasters so much more terrible as justice shall have been the longer delayed. History proves too truly that few of those who govern have known the aspirations of humanity and have done them justice. There have been more revolutions caused by the obstinacy of Conservatism than by the exaggerations of Liberalism. Should it astonish us if the clouds gathered above our heads were to burst in hail and thunder? Should it astonish us if the steam burst out of the walls which confine it, when the engineer has not the prudence to raise the valve which regulates its force? No! there is a fatal law which will always have the same effect in the intellectual as in the physical order of things. Where there is compression there must be a violent and ruinous explosion. Like the greater number of the young men of the country I was educated by priests and amongst young men who have become

priests. I flatter myself I have sincere friends amongst them, and to them at least I can and do say: Can you find under the sun a happier country than ours, where the Catholic Church is freer and enjoys greater privileges? Why, then, do you try to claim rights incompatible with our state of society, to expose the country to an agitation the consequences of which it is impossible to foresee?"







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Sellar, Robert, 1841-1919
The tragedy of Quebec :

